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PRICE TWO CENTS.

FOUND GUILTY.

VERDICT OF JURY CONDEMNES THE
B. H. R. CO.

Its Attempt to Exact Extra Duties
Meets With a Rebuff—Its Lawyers
Cast Down by the Decision—Will
Appeal to Higher Court.

The first prosecution of a violation of the Ten Hour Railroad Labor Law of this State was begun Tuesday, Dec. 17 in the Kings County Court, Judge Aspinall presiding.

The case, legally known as The People vs. The Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company, was initiated by The Trade Union's Alliance, of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance in 1899.

The indictment on which it was tried was handed down by the Grand Jury on the following 10th of February.

The indictment charges the Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company with having violated the Labor Law of this State by compelling and permitting Joseph R. Cooper, a conductor in its employ, to work more than ten hours, including 1/2 hour for dinner, within twelve consecutive hours, to the danger of himself and the public.

Under the provisions of the Ten Hour Law this offense is a misdemeanor and punishable by a fine of \$1,000 as most.

Assistant District Attorney Elder appeared for the prosecution. The Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company was represented by Prof. Collins, and Messrs. Hughes and Clark. Prof. Collins was prominently connected in a legal capacity, with Governor Flower's administration, and is believed to have drafted the Ten Hour and many other laws that were then enacted. He was also a member of the Codification Commission which revised the Ten Hour Law and other laws, at a later date.

After a jury, composed of salesmen, small manufacturers and contractors, who declared they were not members of trades unions or corporations and had no interests in or prejudices against them, had been selected and the case presented to it, Prof. Collins moved that the charges be dismissed.

In support of his motion, Collins delivered a lengthy argument attacking the constitutionality of the law, and contending that the facts alleged do not constitute a crime.

The unconstitutionality of the law, Collins argued, consisted in its lack of discrimination. It made it a crime for any person—an office boy, or a scrub-woman—to contract to work more than ten hours for any street, surface or elevated railroad corporation.

That the facts did not constitute a crime, Collins contended, was shown in the similar case of the City of Buffalo against the Barber Asphalt Company, which worked its employees more than 8 hours as provided by law. This violation was held to be a cause for civil and not for criminal action.

Judge Aspinall refused to grant the motion. He intimated that he coincided with the argument regarding the unconstitutionality of the law, as argued by Prof. Collins.

Joseph Cooper, being called to the stand, testified that he lived at 326 Twenty-first street, Brooklyn, and was at present employed as janitor and agent. On the 16th day of July, 1899, he was employed as conductor by the West End-Eighths-street Division of the Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company. On that date he reported for duty at 2:45 p.m., and remained until 2:04 a.m., the next day, July 17th, or 11 hours and 28 minutes in all. During this time he was allowed but 15 minutes for dinner, which he hurriedly ate, while his boy held the tin dinner pail containing it. Complaints to the Barnmaster Brownell were met with the reply, that he would either have to put up with it or get out.

The railroad company sought to offset this testimony by showing that there were trips of shorter duration which Cooper might have chosen and that when he worked the length of time that he did, he did so of his own volition, and without any compulsion from the company.

The contention was also made that the law relates only to the hours in which the car is actually operated, and not for the time it is in commission.

Conductors "lay off" on the cars at terminals between trips, and while so doing are not working, the car being in charge of the starter.

Barnmasters, starters, and division superintendents gave testimony with great regularity and sameness in support of this line of defense.

Starter Rooney, however, was neatly caught in a trap by Assistant District Attorney Elder, on these points. From the testimony gotten out of him, it was shown that the conductor must remain on the car and hold the rope of the trolley poles, in order to prevent the breaking of the span wires if it while the car moves gradually around the loops at the terminals. He also testified that any refusal to take out cars as ordered, was punished; the crews so doing, being "jumped," that is, not given a run for three days.

At this point adjournment was reached.

The prosecution of the Brooklyn Heights Railway Company, for violating the Ten Hour Railroad Labor Law resulted in a victory for the S. T. & L. A., which initiated the fight.

The verdict was not unexpected, as the case against the company was so strong that the combined efforts of its learned counselors and its witnesses, all employees in its pay, could not weaken it.

The case went to the jury on but one count of the indictment: that which charged the company with requiring the complaining witness, Joseph Cooper, to labor as a conductor for more than ten hours, including one-half hour for dinner, within twelve consecutive hours.

The company sought to show, under this count, 1.—That Cooper worked but ten hours in the actual operation of his car, and that all the extra duties, like reporting, taking car out of barn and "laying off" on the loop at Unionville did not constitute work within the meaning of the statute; 2.—that Cooper was not required to take out the cars as he did, leaving the choice of trips run on a short or long schedule, and he being at liberty to withdraw from the employ of the company, if so he chose.

In reply, the prosecution contended: 1.—that extra duties, i. e., reporting, taking car out of barn, and "laying off" on the loop at Unionville, did constitute work within the meaning of the statute; 2.—that Cooper was required to take out cars as directed, or else be punished with from three to seven days of idleness for every offense, and, ultimately, discharge.

The trial was resumed with Starter Rooney on the stand. He identified a diagram of the Unionville loop, and stepped down.

Another B. H. R. employee named Marsh then took the stand to testify to the fact that the company also employed other than conductors and motormen.

Geo. Roe, was then called. He testified that he lived at 2116 Lexington avenue, New York, and that on the night of the 16th of July he had been in the employ of the B. H. R. Co. as a motorman. He was familiar with the Unionville loop, with its intricate net of wires, and the method of stalling and starting cars there. The conductors and motormen had to pull up their cars little by little, in rotation, the conductor holding the pole rope. The men were held responsible for any break of span wire and punished by "jumps" of either three or seven days. He further testified that the starters' office was 400 feet away from the track, that he was always in his office, and never moved the cars.

This evidence, which was unshaken, was in direct contradiction of that given by the employees of the company.

The prosecution rested here. Collins thereupon renewed by his motion of Monday, to dismiss, on the ground that the statutes governing the case are null and void, being in conflict with the State and Federal Constitution. This motion was denied.

Then Lawyer Hughes addressed the jury in behalf of the company along the lines set forth above.

At the conclusion of his address, Assistant District Attorney Elder spoke for the prosecution.

He showed that the method employed by the company to require Cooper to labor was not one of physical subjugation, as the lawyer for the defendant intimated, but one of extreme compulsion. Cooper was not tied down like a slave until he consented to perform his task, but was ordered about under penalty of punishment or discharge.

Elder then referred to the barefaced action of witnesses for the company in testifying as they did. He begged the jury to recollect that the night in question was a summer night, when thousands of people went to Umler Park, near Unionville, and hundreds of cars went round the loop jammed with people. Could a starter manage that long line of cars alone? Rooney, the starter, said he started the cars by word of mouth. Rooney may have a strong voice, but that is not enough to set cars in motion, conductors and motormen must do that, and they did do it on the night in question.

Then Elder showed by the testimony of Brownell, the barnmaster, that the men were relieved at the loop, only in order that they might answer the calls of nature, or get a bite to eat. He showed by the testimony of Cooper and Roe that the rule of the company was to require the men to exercise precaution going around the loop, so that the wires would not be broken, or else they would be punished by being "jumped." He also dwelt upon the time consumed in reporting, all of which was not questioned.

In view of the above, Elder declared, it would be placing a wrong construction on the statute to say that the men did not work, when "laying off" on the loops or reporting at the office at the beginning and end of trips.

Judge Aspinall then reviewed the case and instructed the jury in their duties. At the request of Assistant District Attorney Elder, he charged the jury in a manner favorable to the prosecution. These charges accepted the definition of reporting, and included the extra duties of labor, besides they also included the half hour for dinner.

The company will bring the case before a higher court on an appeal relative to the constitutionality of the law.

End of Chicago Strike Near.

Chicago, Dec. 24.—It is stated that the machinists' strike in Chicago, which has involved 400 union workmen since it started seven months ago, is about to be settled. It is said that the Allis-Chalmers Company has agreed to return to the nine-hour day, which leaves the question of wages, the taking back of the strikers, and the disposition of the men who took the strikers' places to be decided. The union men have dismissed the conspiracy charge recently entered against W. J. Chalmers.

It is said that the strike so far has cost the Allis-Chalmers Company \$200,000, and the union \$30,000 in carrying on the fight, to say nothing of the heavy losses in wages.

The strike, while a local affair, has been regarded as test of strength between the International Association of Machinists and the National Metal Trades Association.

At this point adjournment was reached.

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Another B. H. R. employee named Marsh then took the stand to testify to the fact that the company also employed other than conductors and motormen.

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This evidence, which was unshaken, was in direct contradiction of that given by the employees of the company.

The prosecution rested here. Collins thereupon renewed by his motion of Monday, to dismiss, on the ground that the statutes governing the case are null and void, being in conflict with the State and Federal Constitution. This motion was denied.

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The company will bring the case before a higher court on an appeal relative to the constitutionality of the law.

"UNION WRECKERS."

CENTRAL FAKIRATED UNION
AFTER KANGAROO BORERS.

Organizer Robinson Charges Them
With Making Capital for People
Who Are Opposed to the Present
Trades Union Policies—Kangs Win
Another "Victory."

At last Sunday's meeting of the Central Fakirated Union, the Kangaroo Social Democrats created quite a little uproar by the persistence with which they tried to go through the performance of swallowing themselves.

The trouble arose after Herman Robinson, the delegate from the C. F. U. to the A. F. of L. convention had made his report.

Kangaroo Morris Brown, delegate of Cigmakers' Union 144, was granted the floor to ask Robinson a question. He asked if the A. F. of L. convention had authorized President Samuel Gompers to attend the "Labor and Capital" conference held in this city last week.

Herman Robinson, who is Sammy's organizer for the New York district, very quietly answered "No."

Brown then made a motion that the C. F. U. demand of Gompers his authority for attending the conference, and also that he (Gompers) furnish to all affiliated organizations a copy of the agreement entered into at the conference.

The chairman, Dan Harris, who is a co-delegate of Brown's, declared the motion out of order. Upon an appeal from the decision of the chair, Brown was sustained, and the battle was on.

Delegate Sam Donnelly, of Big Six, got the floor. Sam said, that while a few years ago, when the Civic Federation was first started it was true quite a number of "labor" men did not have much confidence in it on account of the political affiliation of its sponsors. But it must be admitted that the Civic Federation had done great service to organized labor, notably in the case of the United Mine Workers, in their struggle last year with the coal barons.

"But," said the speaker, "it can only be a greater benefit of labor to have some of its representatives in close touch with the Great Captain of industry of the land."

Donnelly went on to say how valuable it would be to labor to have friends at court. "Undoubtedly my own organization will be only too glad to seek the assistance of Sam Gompers, who can bring great influence to bear upon these captains and thus bring about an amicable settlement when all else has failed."

Kangaroo Reich next gave a performance. The delegates were amused, but were not sure whether he was down for a song or a dance. Finally, after they ceased laughing at his pidgeon English they realized that Reich was not intending to create amusement, but was endeavoring to express indignation. He was indignant, because Secretary John Phillips of the Hatters' Union, had at the conference, given Mark Hanna a "certificate as a friend of labor." He hinted that Phillips was fishing for a political job. When Reich sat down nearly the whole body of delegates arose to protest against this insinuation. Kangaroo like, Reich retreated and gave Phillips a clear credential. Amid the laughter of the delegates Reich then subsided, looking very much scared.

Organizer Robinson then took the floor. He was very indignant to think that some of the delegates were trying to make capital for the very people who were opposed to the present trades union policies.

Kangaroo Dooley attempted to defend his brother Kangs. He said something about the class struggle, but tied himself up in the twaddle that the Kangs talk on the subject and no one could understand what he was trying to say.

Kangaroo Brown then returned to the charge. He said that while Sam Gompers was not authorized to represent the A. F. of L. at the Hanna conference, yet he went there parading himself as the representative of "organized labor," and that therefore the organization had a right to know what was done at the "Peace Conference." With regard to the charge of Robinson that the Kangs were trying to make capital for the people who are opposed to the present trade union. Brown retorted: "I surely do not belong to the set of men who advocate the use of union ware and buy scab goods!"

Judging by the applause that greeted Brown he seemed to have the majority of the delegates in sympathy with him, but as usual the slick fakirs carried the day. One of them had made a motion that the whole matter be laid over for three weeks, which motion was voted down by a large majority. A vote on Brown's motion would now have been in order, but the vice chairman, Matthew Barr, quickly put a motion to adjourn.

Amid the hubbub the delegates may have thought it was Brown's motion they were voting on for the vote was almost unanimous. The chairman then declared the meeting adjourned. The Kangs went away congratulating each other that they had nearly won another "victory."

If you are getting this paper without having ordered it, do not refuse it. Someone has paid for your subscription. Renew when it expires.

LYNN STRIKERS WINNING.

Three Factories Have Met The Demands of the Men.

Lynn, Mass., Dec. 18.—The strike of the S. T. & L. A. Morocco Workers here has entered upon its sixth week.

Three factories have yielded to the demands of the men and the strikers employed in them are back at work.

The firms that met the demands of the men are the Webber Leather Co., Hoffman's & Peaver's.

The strike in the other shops is still maintained with great determination on the part of the strikers. At the Thos. A. Kelley factory about 250 Alliance men are still out. Many of them are working in factories in surrounding towns. Kelley managed to get a number of Poles to take some of his skins out before they perished, but he has lost a lot of money by the strike. His customers are cancelling their orders as the factory is away behind in deliveries.

S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. men are hereby assured that all that is needed to win out in every shop is funds. Give us all the aid you possibly can. The complete success of this strike will redound to the benefit of the Party and the Alliance. Send all contributions to Thos. M. Birtwell, No. 39 Southside avenue, Lynn, Mass.

LYNN STRIKERS FIRM.

They Turn Down Kelly's Proposition That All Come Back to Work But Ten.

The strike of the S. T. & L. A. Leather Workers at Kelly & Company, Lynn, Mass., is still on, and the comrades feel confident that they will win. Last Friday the firm submitted a proposition to the chairman of the shop crew, stating they wanted a settlement, and agreed to take all hands back except ten. The proposition was laid before the crew and rejected unanimously. Kelly was then informed that there could be no settlement unless all hands returned to work, and not until he agreed not to discriminate against the strikers. Send all subscriptions for the aid of the strikers to Thomas A. Birtwell, 39 Southside avenue, Lynn, Mass.

CARNEGIE AND KANGAROOS.

The Millionaire is Approached Again for Money for Brooklyn Labor Lyceum.

With the aid of Mike Flaherty, who is secretary of the Brooklyn Central Labor Union, and is Coroner-elect of Kings County, Carnegie has been again approached for money for the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, the association of which is controlled by the Kangaroo Social Democrats. About ten months ago the Kangaroos got from Carnegie a promise for \$1,000. When the matter leaked out, the lambasting given to the Kangaroos by the DAILY PEOPLE shamed them out of the dirty deal and they took back water. Now they think the matter has blown over, they have taken it up again, and conceal themselves behind the skirts of the Brooklyn Central Labor Union, whose Organized Scabbery they are on good terms with.

It will cost \$80,000 to build the edifice. The calling of the edifice a "Labor Lyceum" is a misnomer. It will be owned body and soul by the brewer bosses, no better than Carnegie himself, who have pledged \$40,000 on mortgage. Moreover, in the amount now said "to be collected," \$25,000, there are goodly sums contributed by notorious politicians and labor fakirs like the Colers, the Hearsts and the Hermann Ridders.

CARE OF INJURED MINERS.

An Average of More Than One Killed and Six Wounded Daily in Anthracite Region.

Wilkesbarre, Dec. 18.—The next annual report of the mine inspectors of the anthracite coal districts is expected to show that scores of lives have already been saved by the installation in mines of the medical room, required by a recent act of the Legislature, which went into effect on November 30. All the mines, however, have not yet complied with the law. Heretofore, it has been the custom, when a man was hurt in the mines, to get him to the surface by the best means at hand. There he would have to wait for the company ambulance, some times for several hours and often men have died of loss of blood or shock.

The mine hospitals now installed are rooms about ten feet square, placed in some convenient and easily reached passage of the mine. Most of them are furnished with cots for four persons, although the law requires only two. There are at hand linseed oil, to be used in the numerous cases of burns, bandages, flasks, and other appliances. Most of the large companies have engaged physicians to show their mine foremen how to use the appliances, and schools of instruction in methods of treating injuries are being established, with sessions once or twice a week. As there is an average of more than one man killed and six injured every day in the mine of the region, the appliances and foremen's knowledge will often be tested.

In most instances the mines are several miles from the nearest hospital, and the journey of an injured and unattended man for that distance, over rough roads, is sometimes the cause of frightful suffering. Under the new system a couple of his mates will go to the injured man, at the place of the accident, with a comfortable stretcher, and he will be carried to the hospital, and there treated and made comfortable until the ambulance and the regular physician arrive.

HANNA IS CHIEF.

HE HEADS THE LABOR FAKIR AND CAPITAL MEDIATORS.

The Object of the Schemers is "To Promote Industrial Peace"—That is to Keep the Fleece From Kicking—Only "Practical" Work To Be Done—"Abstract Problems" Will Not Be Considered.

Among the features of the labor fakir and capitalist love feast held in this city last week under the auspices of the National Civic Federation was the speech of Secretary John Phillips of the Hatters' Union who said:

"The organization to which I belong is opposed to strikes," said he. "There is nothing to be gained by quitting work. When any differences occur we have a committee in every establishment to discuss the complaints, and while the men keep at their machines and benches, this committee waits upon the employers and talks over the matter amicably. This is the only way to accomplish anything."

"There was a time when I believed in strikes, and thought that the employers had no rights which the journeyman was obliged to respect. But we have learned wisdom and do business on a different basis now."

After reviewing the "success" of the contract system, Phillips created great applause by making a public apology to Mark Hanna for the opinion which he had held of him.

"I have always regarded Mark Hanna as the enemy of organized labor," said the speaker. "It was only a short while ago that in answer to a communication from the McKinley Memorial Association that I wrote in reply that I was sorry to see the list of trustees included the name of some who were known enemies of organized labor. And I had Mark Hanna in mind. (Laughter.)"

"But I always acknowledge when I am licked, and I wish to retract now. I have a different idea of what Mark Hanna is and what he represents after listening to his words to-day." (Great applause.)

Charles M. Schwab, president of the United States Steel Corporation said: "I am and have been opposed to organized labor, because I believe that the labor unions of the day are founded on the wrong principle. The economic crisis in England, I believe, in a great measure to have been caused by the methods employed by the unions there."

"No organization, whether it be a trust or an association of workmen, which aims to limit output can succeed, or hope to improve industrial conditions. The principle of limiting output is unfortunately the one pursued by labor organizations of to-day."

"It is different entirely when business men unite for the purpose of economy in the process of production, or men come together for mutual aid and support."

The Grand Master of the Locomotive Firemen, Sargent, was the next speaker; he said he was sorry he had not been present at the conference of Monday. This work covered the greatest and most important topic of the day before the American people. "Out of a meeting of this character," the speaker said, "can come only great good, not only to the laborer who earns a living for himself, his wife, and little ones, with the labor of his hands, but to all the people and to the entire country, if we are true to the interests entrusted to us. We are beginning to break down the barriers that have kept capital and labor apart to the harm of both. The trouble has been in the past that labor and capital have not been understood. Here are to-day the men who control capital. By their side are the men who create capital. Without toil there could be no capital. Each is dependent on the other."

At this juncture Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, and a number of other labor fakirs arrived. Gompers was introduced by Chairman Straus, and the head of the organization that furnished scabs and deputies to break the strike of the Tampa cigarmakers was greeted with great applause by the capitalists present. Gompers commenced by saying that he had known the men engaged in this effort for "industrial peace" for many years, and that fact gave him great confidence in their deliberations; he knew that only the best results could come. "The whole struggle of the human family," Gompers said, "has been for a better condition of those who labor. We are living to-day in an era of the highest development of industry and the concentration of wealth and power, and the employment is the production of the fewest possible men. In our twentieth century the wonderful productive force, the improvement of machinery, the improved methods of locomotion—all these things converge to make the workers' position more difficult. There are some who talk about the individuality of the workers. Now, if that could be, it would be the ideal condition. But in these days of concentration of power and wealth, the individual worker may as well try to get recognition and redress as a tiny vessel tossed by the tempest howling about. The worker in these days is but an atom."

"There is in our time, not a harmony of interests, but there is a community of interests, that individual peace shall be maintained. I will not join in that cry against the combination of capital known as a trust. I know that it is an economic advancement. But, I may add, I do object to the Trusts interfering with political conditions, particularly the judiciary." (Applause by fakirs and knowing smiles by capitalists.)

Gompers then spoke of the need of an "understanding" between the employers and the employed. "We say the employer has no right to say we shall not arbitrate," said Gompers dramatically. "Arbitration means that we shall calmly and dispassionately examine the situation for the good of all concerned. What could be more just to both? Our movement is for the common good of all. We wish our workmen to understand that in our organization we must maintain the highest standards, the same as we would have in our homes. Unless a man's word is respected in his community, he has no standing, and it is this that we want to keep in our movement. We want a closer understanding with the employing class."

The next speaker was Ben Tillett, a delegate to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor from Great Britain. Tillett discussed the conditions surrounding organized labor in Great Britain and its colonies. "To me it seems," he said, "that in this country the problem of industrial peace is a more acute one even than in Great Britain. I quite endorse what one of your speakers said yesterday, that to be the arbiter between capital and labor in this country is fraught with more responsibility and is a greater honor than to be the President of the United States."

"We in Great Britain are not finding fault with Trusts. In a sense the labor organizations are a Trust themselves. We are watching you in this country, for here the growth of the Trusts is greater than anywhere else. As long as the capitalists have right to combine in Trusts for capital; we want the right to combine in Trusts for labor. When even the capitalists, even the millionaires, quarrel and fight between themselves why should we not have the right to fight for our little 'bite'?"

Straus next introduced John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers' Union. Mitchell said the settlement of the labor question to him was not a difficult one. All that was necessary, he thought, was for the employer and employee to meet, and if each would tell the other the truth their national spirit of fairness would do the rest.

The following statement of the committee's plan and purpose was given out: "This committee shall be known as the Industrial Department of the National Civic Association."

"The scope and province of this department shall be to do what may seem best to promote industrial peace; to be helpful in establishing rightful relations between employers and workers; by its good offices to endeavor to obviate and prevent strikes and lockouts; to aid in renewing industrial relations where a rupture has occurred."

"That at all times representatives of employers and workers, organized or unorganized, should confer for the adjustment of the differences or disputes before an acute stage is reached and thus avoid or minimize the number of strikes or lockouts."

"That mutual agreements as to the conditions under which labor shall be performed should be encouraged, and that when agreements are made the terms thereof should be faithfully adhered to both in letter and spirit by both parties."

"This department, either as a whole or a sub-committee by it appointed, shall, when requested, act as a forum to adjust and decide upon questions at issue between workers and their employers, provided in its opinion, the subject is one of sufficient importance."

"This department will not consider abstract industrial problems."

"This department assumes no powers of arbitration unless such powers be conferred by both parties to a dispute."

As appointed Tuesday by Oscar S. Straus, the chairman of the convention, the thirty-six members of the committee are as follows:

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"That at all times representatives of employers and workers, organized or unorganized, should confer for the adjustment of the differences or disputes before an acute stage is reached and thus avoid or minimize the number of strikes or lockouts."

"That mutual agreements as to the conditions under which labor shall be performed should be encouraged, and that when agreements are made the terms thereof should be faithfully adhered to both in letter and spirit by both parties."

"This department, either as a whole or a sub-committee by it appointed, shall, when requested, act as a forum to adjust and decide upon questions at issue between workers and their employers, provided in its opinion, the subject is one of sufficient importance."

"This department will not consider abstract industrial problems."

"This department assumes no powers of arbitration unless such powers be conferred by both parties to a dispute."

Salvation Army

We are in receipt of a letter, type-written on Salvation Army stationery, and signed "M. J. H. Ferris, Att'y and Counsel for Salvation Army," in which a paragraph that appeared in these columns in the issue of the 15th instant is referred to as "scandalously libeling this religious and philanthropic corporation." We are further informed that the Corporation "is incorporated under the laws of the State," etc.; that the article in question "criminally libeled the organization and THE HEAD OF IT AS WELL." The letter closes with the threat that if the "article is not prominently and publicly refuted," etc., civil and criminal actions will be instituted. As a parting bolt, the letter imparts the information that the lawyer we shall have to deal with will be the Hon. Benjamin F. Tracy, of the law firm of Tracy, Boardman & Platt.

THE PEOPLE has nothing to retract and nothing to apologize for in the premises. Whatever this paper publishes it publishes in the belief that it is true, after such inquiry as the matter may demand, and in the public interest. It is not animated by malice; but it is animated by unflinching hostility to all fraud and hypocrisy, especially when such is cloaked with pietistic frippery, and is calculated to make against the enlightenment and the interest of the working class. Above all, this paper is not to be bullied, frightened or intimidated.

The matter of the Salvation Army—an organization that has been used in California for the purpose of furnishing scabs to break strikes, and has in many other places been turned to questionable uses—might as well be taken up now. We shall introduce our exposures with Huxley's celebrated letters to the London "Times." Here they are:

In Darkest England.

(The "Times," December 1, 1890.)

I. Sir—A short time ago a generous and philanthropic friend wrote to me, placing at my disposal a large sum of money for the furtherance of the vast scheme which the General of the Salvation Army has propounded, if I thought it worthy of support. The responsibility of advising my benevolent correspondent has weighed heavily upon me, but I felt that it would be cowardly, as well as ungracious, to refuse to accept it. I have therefore studied Mr. Booth's book with some care, for the purpose of separating the essential from the accessory features of his project, and I have based my judgment—I am sorry to say an unfavorable one—upon the data thus obtained. Before communicating my conclusions to my friend, however, I am desirous to know what there may be to be said in arrest of that judgment; and the matter is of such vast public importance that I trust you will add me by publishing this letter, notwithstanding its length.

There are one or two points upon which I imagine all thinking men have arrived at the same convictions as those from which Mr. Booth starts. It is certain that there is an immense amount of remediable misery among us; that, in addition to the poverty, disease and degradation, which are the consequences of causes beyond human control, there is a vast, probably a very much larger, quantity of misery which is the result of individual ignorance, or misconduct, and of faulty social arrangements. Further, I think it is not to be doubted that, unless this remediable misery is effectually dealt with, hordes of vice and pauperism will destroy modern civilization as effectually as uncivilized tribes of another kind destroyed the great social organizations which preceded ours. Moreover, I think all will agree that no reforms and improvements will go to the root of the evil unless they attack it in its ultimate source—namely, the motives of the individual man. Honest, industrious and self-restraining men will make a very bad social organization prosper; while vicious, idle, and reckless citizens will bring to ruin the best that ever was, or ever will be, invented.

The leading propositions which are peculiar to Mr. Booth, I take to be these:

(1.) That the only adequate means to such reformation of the individual man is the adoption of that form of somewhat corymbant Christianity of which the soldiers of the Salvation Army are the militant missionaries. This implies the belief that the excitement of the religious emotions (largely by processes described by their employers as "rousing" and "convivial") is a desirable and trustworthy method of permanently amending the conduct of mankind.

I demur to these propositions. I am of opinion that the testimony of history, no less than the cool observation of that which lies within the personal experience of many of us, is wholly adverse to it.

(2.) That the appropriate instrument for the propagation and maintenance of this peculiar sacramental enthusiasm is the Salvation Army—a body of devotees, drilled and disciplined as a military organization, and provided with a numerous hierarchy of officers, every one of whom is pledged to blind and unhesitating obedience to the "General," who frankly tells us that the first condition of the service is "implicit, unquestioning obedience." "A telegram from me will send any of them to the uttermost parts of the earth," every one "has taken service on the express condition that he or she will obey, without questioning, or gaining, the orders from headquarters" ("Darkest England," p. 243).

This proposition seems to be to be indisputable. History confirms it. Francis of Assisi and Ignatius Loyola made their great experiments on the same principle. Nothing is more certain than that a body of religious enthusiasts (perhaps we may even say fanatics) pledged to blind obedience to their chief, is one

of the most efficient instruments for effecting any purpose that the wit of man has yet succeeded in devising. And I can but admire the insight into human nature—which has led Mr. Booth to leave his unquestioning and unhesitating instruments unbound by vows. A volunteer slave is worth ten sworn bondsmen.

(3.) That the success of the Salvation Army, with its present force of 9,416 officers "wholly engaged in the work," its capital of three-quarters of a million, its income of the same amount, its 1,375 corps at home, and 1,499 in the colonies and foreign countries (Appendix, pp. 3 and 4), is a proof that Divine assistance has been vouchsafed to its efforts.

Here I am not able to agree with the sanguine commander-in-chief of the new model, whose labors in creating it have probably interfered with his acquisition of information respecting the fate of previous enterprises of like kind.

It does not appear to me that his success is in any degree more remarkable than that of Francis of Assisi, or that of Ignatius Loyola, than that of George Fox, or even than that of the Mormons, in our own time. When I observe the discrepancies of the doctrinal foundations from which each of these great movements set out, I find it difficult to suppose that supernatural aid has been given to all of them; still more, that Mr. Booth's smaller measure of success is evidence that it has been granted to him.

But what became of the Franciscan experiment? If there was one rule rather than another on which the founder laid stress, it was that his army of friars should be absolute mendicants, keeping themselves sternly apart from all worldly entanglements. Yet even before the death of Francis, in 1226, a strong party, headed by Elias of Cortona, the deputy of his own appointment, began to hanker after these very things; and, within thirty years of that time, the Franciscans had become one of the most powerful, wealthy and world corporations in Christendom, with their fingers in every sink of political and social corruption, if so be profit for the order could be fished out of it; their principal interest being to fight their rivals, the Dominicans, and to persecute such of their own brethren as were honest enough to try to carry out their founder's plainest injunctions. We also know what has become of Loyola's experiment. For two centuries the Jesuits have been the hope of the enemies of the Papacy; whenever it becomes too prosperous they are sure to bring about a catastrophe by their corrupt use of the political and social influence which their organization and their wealth secure.

With these examples of that which may happen to institutions founded by noble men, with high aims, in the hands of successors of a different stamp, armed with despotic authority, before me, common prudence surely requires that before advising the handing over of a large sum of money to the general of a new order of mendicants I should ask what guarantee there is that, thirty years hence, the "General" who then automatically controls the action, say, of 100,000 officers pledged to blind obedience, distributed through the whole length and breadth of the poorer classes, and each with his finger on the trigger of a mine charged with discontent and religious fanaticism; with the absolute control, says, of eight or ten millions sterling of capital and as many of income; with barracks in every town, with estates scattered over the country, and with settlements in the colonies—will exercise his enormous powers, not merely honestly, but wisely? What shadow of security is there that the person who wields this uncontrolled authority over many thousands of men shall use it solely for those philanthropic and religious objects which, I do not doubt, are alone in the mind of Mr. Booth? Who is to say that the Salvation Army, in the year 1920, shall not be a replica of what the Franciscan order had become in the year 1260?

The personal character and the intentions of the founders of such organizations as we are considering, count for very little in the formation of a forecast of their future; and if they did, it is no disrespect to Mr. Booth to say that he is not the peer of Francis of Assisi. But if Francis's judgment of men was so imperfect as to permit him to appoint an ambitious intriguer of the stamp of Brother Elias his deputy, we have no right to be sanguine about the perspicacity of Mr. Booth in a like matter.

Adding to all these considerations, the fact that Mr. Llewelyn Davies, the warmth of whose philanthropy is beyond question, and in whose competency and fairness I, for one, place implicit reliance, flatly denies the boasted success of the Salvation Army in its professed mission, I have arrived at the conclusion that, as at present advised, I cannot be the instrument of carrying out my friend's proposal.

Mr. Booth has pitifully characterized certain benevolent schemes as doing "sixpennyworth of good and a shilling's worth of harm." I grieve to say that, in my opinion, the definition exactly fits his own project. Few social evils are of greater magnitude than uneducated and unchristened religious fanaticism; no personal habit more surely degrades the conscience and the intellect than blind and unhesitating obedience to unlimited authority. Undoubtedly, harlotry and intemperance are sore evils, and starvation is hard to be even to know of; but the prostitution of the mind, the soddening of the conscience, the dwarfing of manhood are worse calamities. It is a greater evil to have the intellect of a nation put down by organized fanaticism; to see its political and industrial affairs at the mercy of a despot whose chief thought is to make that fanaticism prevail; to watch the degradation of men, who should feel themselves individually responsible for their own and their country's fates, to mere brute instruments ready to the hand of a master for any use to which he may put them.

But that is the end to which, in my opinion, all such organizations, as that to which kindly people, who do not look to the consequences of their acts, are now giving their thousands, inevitably tend. Unless clear proof that I am wrong is furnished, another thousand

shall not be added by my instrumental-

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

T. H. Huxley.

Note. An authoritative contemporary historian Matthew Paris, writes thus of the Minorite, or Franciscan, Friars in England in 1235, just nine years after the death of Francis of Assisi:

"At this time some of the Minorite brethren, as well as some of the Order of Preachers, unmindful of their profession and the restrictions of their order, impudently entered the territories of some noble monasteries, under pretence of fulfilling their duties of preaching as if intending to depart after preaching the next day. Under pretence of sickness, or on some other pretext, however, they remained, and, constructing an altar of wood, they placed on it a consecrated stone altar, which they had brought with them, and clandestinely and in a low voice performed mass, and even received the confessions of many of the parishioners, to the prejudice of the priests. . . . And if by chance they were not satisfied with this, they broke forth in insults and threats, reviling every other order except their own, and asserting that all the rest were doomed to damnation, and that they would not spare the souls of their feet till they had exhausted the wealth of their opposers, however great it might be. The religious men, therefore, gave way to them in many points, yielding to avoid scandal and offending those in power. For they were the counsellors and messengers of the nobles, and even secretaries of the pope, and therefore obtained much secular favor. Some, however, finding themselves opposed to the count of Rome, were restrained by obvious reasons, and went away in confusion; for the Supreme Pontiff, with a scowling look, said to them, 'What means this my brethren? To what lengths are you going? Have you not professed voluntary poverty, and that you would traverse towns and castles and distant places, as the case required, barefooted and unostentatious, in order to preach the word of God in all humility? And do you now presume to usurp these estates to yourselves against the will of the lords of these fees? Your religion appears to be in a great measure dying away, and your doctrines to be confuted.'"

Under date of 1243, Matthew writes: "For three or four hundred years or more the monastic order did not hasten to destruction so quickly as their order (Minorites and Preachers) of whom now the brothers, twenty-four years having scarcely elapsed, had first built in England dwellings which rivalled royal palaces in height. These are they who daily expose to view their inestimable treasures, in enlarging their sumptuous edifices, and erecting lofty walls, whereby impudently transgressing the limits of their original poverty and violating the basis of their religion, according to the prophecy of German Hildegard. When noblemen and rich men are at the point of death, whom they know to be possessed of great riches, they, in their love of gain, diligently urge them, to the injury and loss of the ordinary pastors, and extort confessions and hidden wills, larding themselves and their own order only, and placing themselves before all others. So no faithful man now believes he can be saved, except he is directed by the counsels of the Preachers and Minorites."—Matthew Paris's "English History," translated by the Rev. J. A. Giles, 1889, Vol. I.

II.

The "Times," December 9, 1890.

Sir—The purpose of my previous letter about Mr. Booth's scheme was to arouse the contributors to the military chest of the Salvation Army to a clear sense of what they are doing. I thought it desirable that they should be distinctly aware that they are setting up and endowing a sect in many ways analogous to the "Ranters" and "Revivalists" of undesirable notoriety in former times; but with this immensely important difference, that it possesses a strong, far-reaching, centralized organization, the disposal of the physical, moral, and financial strength of which rests with an irresponsible chief who, according to his own account, is assured of the blind obedience of nearly 100,000 subordinates. I wish them to ask themselves, Ought prudent men and good citizens to aid in the establishment of an organization which, under sundry, by no means improbable, contingencies, may easily become a worse and more dangerous nuisance than the mendicant friars of the middle ages? If this is an academic question, I really do not know what questions deserved to be called practical. As you divined, I purposely omitted any consideration of the details of the Salvationist scheme, and of the principles which animate those who work it, because I desired that the public appreciation of the evils, necessarily inherent in all such plans of despotic social and religious regimentation, should not be obscured by the raising of points of less comparative, however great absolute, importance.

But it is now time to undertake a more particular criticism of "Darkest England." At the outset of the examination of that work I was startled to find that Mr. Booth had not forward his scheme with an almost ludicrously imperfect knowledge of what had been done, and is doing in the same direction. A simple reader might well imagine that the author of "Darkest England" posed as the Columbus, or art any rate the Cortez, of that region. "Go to Mudie's," he tells us, "and you will be surprised to see how few books there are upon the social problem." That may or may not be correct; but if Mr. Booth had gone to a certain reading room not far from Mudie's, I undertake to say that the well-informed and obliging staff of the national library in Bloomsbury would have provided him with more books on this topic, in almost all European languages, than he would read in three months. Has socialism no literature? And what is socialism but an incarnation of the social question?

Moreover, I am persuaded that even "Mudie's" resources could have furnished Mr. Booth with the "Life of Lord Shaftesbury" and Carlyle's works. Mr. Booth seems to have undertaken to instruct the world without having heard of "Past and Present" or of "Latter-day Pamphlets,"

though, somewhat late in the day, a judicious friend called his attention to them. To those of my contemporaries on whom as on myself, Carlyle's writings on this topic made an ineffaceable impression forty years ago, who know that, for all that time hundreds of able and devoted men, both clerical and lay, have worked heart and soul for the permanent amendment of the condition of the poor. Mr. Booth's "Go to Mudie's" affords an apt measure to the depths of his preliminary studies. However, I am bound to admit that these earlier laborers in the field labored in such a different fashion, that the originality of the plan started by Mr. Booth remains largely unaffected. For them no drums have beat, no trombones brayed; no sanctified buffoonery, after the model of the oration of the Friar in Wallenstein's camp, dear to the readers of Schiller, has tickled the ears of the groundlings on their behalf. Sadly behind the great age of rowdy self-advertisement in which their lot has fallen, they seem not to have advanced one whit beyond John the Baptist and the Apostles, 1,800 years ago, in their notions of the way in which the "metanoia," the change of mind of the ill-doer, is to be brought about. Yet the new model was there, ready for the imitation of those ancient saviors of souls. The ranting and roaring mystagogues of some of the most venerable of Greek and Syrian cults also had their processions and banners, their files and cymbals and holy chants, their hierarchy of officers to whom the art of making collections was not wholly unknown, and who, as freely as their modern imitators, promised an Elysian future to contributory converts. The success of these antique Salvation armies was enormous. Simon Magnus was quite a notorious personage, and probably had as strong a following, as Mr. Booth. Yet the Apostles, with their old-fashioned ways would not accept such success as a satisfactory sign of the Divine sanction; nor depart from their own method of leading the way to the higher life.

I deem it unnecessary to verify Mr. Booth's statistics. The exact strength of the population of the realm of misery—be it one, two or three millions—has nothing to do with the efficacy of any means proposed for the highly desirable end of reducing it to a minimum. The sole question for consideration at present is whether the scheme, keeping specially in view the spirit in which it is to be worked, is likely to do more good than harm.

Mr. Booth tells us with commendable frankness, that "it is primarily and mainly for the sake of saving the soul that I seek the salvation of the body" (p. 45), which language, being interpreted, means that the propagation of the special Salvationist creed comes first, and the promotion of the physical, intellectual, and purely moral welfare of mankind second, in his estimation. Men are to be made sober and industrious, mainly, that, as washed, shorn, and docile sheep, they may be driven into the narrow theological fold that Mr. Booth patronizes. If their refusal to enter for all their moral cleanliness, they will have to take their place among the goats as sinners, only less dirty than the rest.

I have been in the habit of thinking (and I believe the opinion is largely shared by reasonable men) that self-respect and thrift are the rungs of the ladder by which men may most surely climb out of the slough of despond of want; and I have regarded them as perhaps the most eminent of the practical virtues. That is not Mr. Booth's opinion. For him they are mere varnished sins—nothing better than "pride re-baptized" (p. 46). Shutting his eyes to the necessary consequences of the struggle for life, the existence of which he accepts as fully as Darwinian, Mr. Booth tells men, whose evil case is one of those consequences, that envy is a corner stone of our competitive system. With thrift and self-respect denounced as sin, with the suffering of starving men referred to the sins of the capitalist, the gospel according to Mr. Booth may save souls, but it will hardly save society.

In estimating the social and political influence which the Salvation Army is likely to exert, it is important to reflect that the officers (pledged to blind obedience to their General) are to be confined themselves to the functions of mere deacons and catechists (though, under a general like Cyril, Alexandria knew to her cost what even they could effect); they are to be "tribunes of the people," who are to act as their gratuitous legal advisers; and, WHEN LAW IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY EFFECTIVE, THE WHOLE FORCE OF THE ARMY IS TO OBTAIN WHAT THE SAID TRIBUNES MAY CONCEIVE TO BE JUSTICE, BY THE PRACTICE OF RUTHLESS INTIMIDATION. Society, says Mr. Booth, needs "mothering;" and he sets forth, with much complacency, a variety of "cases," by which we may estimate the sort of "mothering" to be expected at his parental hands. Those who study the materials thus set before them will, I think, be driven to the conclusion that the "mother" has already provided herself a most unscrupulous meddler, even if she has not fallen within reach of the arm of the law.

Consider this "case." A, asserting herself to have been seduced twice, "applied to our people. We hunted up the man, followed him to the country, threatened him with public exposure, and forced from him the payment to his victim of £60 down, an allowance of £1 a week, and an insurance policy on his life for £450 in her favor" (p. 222).

JEDBURGH JUSTICE THIS. WE CONSTITUTE OURSELVES PROSECUTOR, JUDGE, JURY, SHERIFFS OFFICER, ALL IN ONE. WE PRACTICE INTIMIDATION AS DEFTLY AS IF WE WERE A RANGH OF ANOTHER LEAGUE; AND, UNDER THREAT OF EXPOSURE, WE EXTORT A TOLERABLY HEAVY CUSH-MONEY IN PAYMENT OF OUR SILENCE.

Well, really, my poor moral sense is unable to distinguish these remarkable proceedings of the new popular tribune from what in French is called "chantage," and in plain English "blackmailing." And when we consider that anybody, for any reason, of jealousy, or personal spite, or party hatred, might be thus "hunted," "frowned," "threatened," and financially squeezed or ruined, without a particle

of legal investigation, at the will of a man whom the familiar charged with the inquisitorial business dare not hesitate to obey, surely it is not unreasonable to ask how far does the Salvation Army, in its "tribune of the people" aspect, differ from a Sicilian Mafia? I am no apologist of men guilty of the acts charged against the person who yet, I think, might be as fairly called a "victim" in this case as his partner in wrongdoing. It is possible that, in so peculiar a case, Solomon himself might have been puzzled to apportion the relative moral delinquency of the parties. However that may be, the man was morally and legally bound to support his child, and any one would have been justified, in helping the woman to her legal rights, and the man to the legal consequences (in which exposure is included) of his fault.

The action of the General of the Salvation Army in extorting the heavy fine he chose to impose as the price of his silence, however excellent his motives, appears to me to be as immoral as, I hope, it is illegal. So much for the Salvation Army as a teacher of questionable ethics and of eccentric economics, as the legal adviser who recommends and practices the extraction of money by intimidation, as the fairy godmother who proposes to "mother" society in a fashion which is not to my taste, however much it may commend itself to some of Mr. Booth's supporters. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, T. H. HUXLEY.

III.

The "Times," December 11, 1890.

Sir—When I first addressed you on the subject of the projected operations of the Salvation Army, all that I knew about that body was derived from the study of Mr. Booth's book, from common repute, and from occasional attention to the sayings and doings of his noisy squadrons, with which my walks about London, in past years, have made me familiar. I was quite unaware of the existence of evidence respecting the present administration of the Salvation forces which would have enabled me to act upon the sagacious maxim of the American humorist, "Don't prophesy unless you know."

The letter you were good enough to publish has brought upon me a swarm of letters and pamphlets. Some favor me, with abuse; some thoughtful correspondents warmly agree with me, and then proceed to point out how much worthier certain schemes of their own are of my friend's support; some send valuable encouragement, for which I offer my hearty thanks, and ask them to excuse any more special acknowledgment. But that which I find most to the purpose "just now" is the revelation made by some of the documents which have reached me, of a fact of which I was wholly ignorant—namely, that persons who have faithfully and zealously served in the Salvation Army, who express unchanged attachment to its original principles and practices, and who have been in close official relations with the "General," have publicly declared that THE PROCESS OF DEGRADATION OF THE ORGANIZATION INTO A MERE ENGINE OF FANATICAL INTOLERANCE AND PERSONAL AMBITION, WHICH I DECLARED WAS INEVITABLE, HAS ALREADY SET IN AND IS MAKING RAPID PROGRESS.

It is out of the question, sir, that I should occupy the columns of the "Times" with a detailed exposition and criticism of these pieces justificatives of my forecast. I say criticism, because the assertions of persons who have quitted any society must, in fairness, be taken with the caution that is required in the case of all ex-parte statements of hostile witnesses. But it is, at any rate, a notable fact that there are parts of my first letter, indicating the inherent and necessary evil consequences of any such organization, which might serve for abstracts of portions of this evidence, long since printed and published under the public responsibility of the witnesses.

Let us ask the attention of your readers, in the first place, to "An ex-Captain's Experience of the Salvation Army," by J. J. R. Redstone, the genuineness of which is guaranteed by the preface (dated April 5th, 1888) which the Rev. Dr. Cunningham Geikie has supplied. Mr. Redstone's story is well worth reading on its own account. Told in simple, direct language, such as John Bunyan might have used, it permits no doubt of the single-minded sincerity of the man, who gave up everything to become an officer of the Salvation Army, but, exhibiting a sad want of that capacity for unhesitating and blind obedience on which Mr. Booth lays so much stress, was thrown aside, penniless—no, I am wrong, with 2s. 4d. for his last week's salary—to shift, with his equally devoted wife, as he best might. I wish I could induce intending contributors to Mr. Booth's army chest to read Mr. Redstone's story.

I would particularly ask them to contrast the pure simplicity of his plain tale with the artificial pietism and slobbering unction of the letters which Mr. Ballington Booth addresses to his "dear boy" (a married man apparently older than himself), so long as the said "dear boy" is facing brickbats and starvation as per order. I confess that my opinion of the chiefs of the Salvation Army has been so distinctly modified by the perusal of this pamphlet, that I am glad to be relieved from the necessity of expressing it. It will be written by Mr. Cunningham Geikie, who expresses warm admiration for the early and uncorrupted work of the Salvation Army, and cannot possibly be accused of prejudice against it on religious grounds.

(1) The Salvation Army is emphatically a family concern. Mr. Booth, senior, is General; one son is chief of the staff, and the remaining sons and daughters engross the other chief positions. It is Booth all over; indeed, like the sun in your own eyes, you can see nothing else wherever you turn. And, as Dr. Geikie shrewdly remarks, "to be the head of a widely-spread sect carries with it many advantages—not all exclusively spiritual."

(2) "Whoever becomes a Salvation officer is henceforth a slave, helplessly exposed to the caprice of his superiors." Mr. Redstone bore an excellent char-

acter both before he entered the army and when he left it. To join it, though a married man, he gave up a situation which he had held for five years, and he served Mr. Booth two years, working hard in most difficult posts. HIS ONE FAULT, MAJOR LAWLEY TELLS US, WAS, THAT HE WAS "TOO STRAIGHT"—THAT IS, TOO HONEST, TRUTHFUL AND MANLY—or in other words, too real a Christian. Yet without trial, without formulated charges, on the strength of secret complaints, which were never, apparently, tested, he was dismissed with less courtesy than most people would show a beggar with 2s. 4d. for his last week's salary. If there be any mistake in this matter I shall be glad to learn it.

(3) Dr. Geikie confirms, on the ground of information given confidentially by other officers, Mr. Redstone's assertion that they are watched and reported by spies from headquarters.

(4) Mr. Booth refuses to guarantee his officers any fixed amount of salary. While he and his family of high officials live in comfort, if not in luxury, the pledged slaves, whose devotion is the foundation of any true success the Army has met with, often have "hardly food enough to sustain life. One good fellow frankly told me that when he had nothing he just went and begged."

AT THIS POINT IT IS PROPER THAT I SHOULD INTERPOSE AN APOLOGY FOR HAVING HASTILY SPOKEN OF SUCH MEN AS "RANCIS OF ASSISI, EVEN FOR PURPOSES OF WARNING, IN CONNECTION WITH MR. BOOTH. WHAT-EVER MAY BE THOUGHT OF THE WISDOM OF THE PLANS OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE GREAT MONASTIC ORDERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES, THEY TOOK THEIR FULL SHARE OF SUFFERING AND PRIVATION AND NEVER SHRINKED IN THEIR OWN PERSONS THE SACRIFICE THEY IMPOSED ON THEIR FOLLOWERS."

I have already expressed the opinion, that whatever the ostensible purpose of the scheme under discussion, one of its consequences will be the setting up and endowment of a new Ranter-Scientist sect. I may now add that another effect will be—indeed, has been—to set up and endow the Booth dynasty with unlimited control of the physical, moral and financial resources of the sect. Mr. Booth is already a printer and publisher, who, it is plainly declared, utilizes the officers of the Army as agents for advertising and selling his publications; and some of them are so strongly impressed with the belief that active pushing of Mr. Booth's business is the best road to their master's favor, that when the public obstinately refuse to purchase his papers, they buy them themselves and send the proceeds to headquarters. Mr. Booth is also a retailer trader on a large scale, and the Dean of Wells has, most seasonably, drawn attention to the very notable banking project which he is trying to float. Any one who follows Dean Plumtre's clear exposition of the principles of this financial operation can have little doubt that, whether they are or are not adequate to the attainment of the first and second of Mr. Booth's ostensible objects, THEY MAY BE TRUSTED TO EFFECT A WIDE EXTENSION OF ANY KINGDOM IN WHICH WORLDLY POSSESSIONS ARE OF NO VALUE. We are, in fact, in sight of a financial catastrophe like that of Law a century ago. Only it is the poor who will suffer.

I have already occupied too much of your space, and yet I have drawn upon only one of the sources of information about the inner working of the Salvation Army at my disposition. Far graver charges than any here dealt with are publicly brought in the others.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

T. H. Huxley.

P. S.—I have just read Mr. Buchanan's letter in the "Times" of to-day. Mr. Buchanan is, I believe, an imaginative writer, and not acquainted with his works, but nothing in the way of fiction he has yet achieved can well surpass his account of my opinions and of the purport of my writings.

(To be continued.)

Oliver Harriman, Sr., a millionaire, has been declared insane, and it is said that he has been helpless for some months. All that time his "directive ability" went on directing many workmen to give up to him about four-fifths of what they produced.

K. PRYOR.

2 to 6 New Reade St., New York.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage. Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other, shall have worked out of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P.

The County Committee, representing the Section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, New York, N. Y.

SECTION AKRON, OHIO, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday, at 2 p. m., at Kramer's Hall, 167 S. Howard st. Organizer, J. Kojila, 307 Bartses st.

THE NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P., meets 1st Thursday of the month, 8 p. m., at 78 Springfield ave., Newark. Cor. Sec. Louis Cohen, 10 Everett st., East Orange, N. J. Fin. Sec. A. P. Wittel, 60 Peschene ave., Newark, N. J.

WAITERS' ALLIANCE "LIBERTY." No. 19, S. T. & L. A. Office 257 E. Houston st. Telephone call 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday, 8 p. m.

NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 274, S. T. & L. A., meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesdays at 8 p. m., at 2 to 4 New Reade street. Secretary K. Wallberg.

SECTION HARTFORD, S. L. P., meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., at S. L. P. Hall, 892 Main street.

S. T. & L. A. LOCAL NO. 307, meets second Thursday at above hall. Visitors are welcome.

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P., Branch 1, meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of month at 10 o'clock, a. m., at 235 E. 38th street. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist weekly, "Arbetearen."

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, Branch 2, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday of month, at 3 p. m., at Linnea Hall, 319 Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business meetings every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at Club rooms, southwest corner of 11th street and First avenue. Pool parlor open every evening.

LOCAL ALLIANCE, 282, of the S. T. & L. A. (Swedish Machinist), meets every second and fourth Friday of the month at 8 p. m., at Cosmopolitan Park, corner of Sixth avenue and Thirtieth street, Newark, N. J.

SECTION LOS ANGELES, S. L. P., Headquarters and free reading room, 205 1/2 South Main street. Public meetings every Sunday, 2 p. m., Foresters' Temple, 129 1/2 W. First street, corner Spring.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY meets every second and fourth Friday, 8 p. m., S. L. P. headquarters, 853 Grand avenue, Westville Branch meets every third Tuesday at St. Joseph's Hall. Visitors welcome.

SECTION CLEVELAND, OHIO, S. L. P., holds public agitation meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock at 356 Ontario street, top floor.

HEADQUARTERS SECTION SOMERVILLE, S. L. P., 437 Somerville avenue, Somerville, Mass., will be open every evening and all day Sundays. Papers and books on Socialism for sale. Free reading room.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Section Erie Co., S. L. P., meets 1st and 3rd Saturday, 8 p. m., in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee st. Everybody welcome. Open-air meetings every Sunday evening, cor. Main and Church sts.

PIONEER MIXED ALLIANCE, S. T. & L. A., meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 119 Eddy st., San Francisco, Cal. Free reading room. Visitors are welcome.

SECTION CHICAGO, ILL., S. L. P., holds public agitation meetings every Sunday, 3 p. m., at 106 E. Randolph St., 2d floor. Questions and discussion invited. Admission free.

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JOHNSON'S WEAK EXCUSE.

INSINUATES THAT THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY WOULD NOT TREAT HIM FAIRLY.

He First Accepted a Challenge to Debate With a Member of the Socialist Labor Party, and Then Declines—His Ungentlemanly Fear of "Ungentlemanly" Treatment.

Readers of THE PEOPLE will remember the accounts given of a challenge issued to Tom Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, to meet in debate a representative of the Socialist Labor Party. After accepting the challenge, Mr. Johnson saw fit to reconsider this action, and declined to debate. This was perfectly honorable in itself, but he saw fit also to cover his retreat by asserting that he would not debate because he feared that a garbled report of the meeting would be issued by the Socialist Labor Party. His next excuse was the insinuation that the men put forward by the Socialist Labor Party were not gentlemen, and that he could not, therefore, debate with them.

In so doing Mr. Johnson put himself in a most dishonorable position. It does not matter whether his action was the result of fear or misinformation. The full history of the matter is given in the following letters:

DOCUMENT NUMBER I.
Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 8th, 1901.
Hon. Tom L. Johnson,
Mayor of City of Cleveland,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—
At a meeting held under the auspices of the Democratic Party at Collinwood, Ohio, Oct. 31st, 1901, James Matthews, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, was granted the privilege of asking you, the speaker of the evening, three questions.

The first question asked by Mr. James Matthews was: "Is it not an insult to the railroad employees of Collinwood to expect them to support the Democratic Party when the fact is considered that Grover Cleveland, the then Democratic President of the United States, ordered the federal troops to Chicago in 1894 to break up the A. R. U. Strike and shoot down the workmen?" An answer to the question being evaded on the ground that it was pertaining to national issues, Mr. James Matthews then asked: "Did not the Democratic Governor Flower of New York sign a bill passed by the New York Legislature which prohibited railroad companies from causing their employees to work more than ten hours per day, and when the switchmen of the Lackawanna Railroad Company went out on strike to enforce that law, did not this same Governor Flower order the state militia to Buffalo to protect that Company while they were openly violating the laws of the State of New York?" This question was also evaded by you with the sentimental remark that "Governor Flower was dead and we should let him rest," etc. Evidently anticipating that the third and last question would be equal to the former ones in convicting the Democratic Party, whose principles you represent as an unmistakable adversary to the interests of the working class, you skillfully warded it off by becoming a questioner yourself by asking Mr. Matthews whether or not he believed in "equalization of taxation"? To this there is only one answer as far as a wage worker is concerned, and Mr. Matthews gave that answer, namely: "Equalization of taxation is of no material interest to the working class, consequently, I do not believe in it." Upon being further asked by you, whether he was a Socialist, Mr. Matthews answered in the affirmative and that he was a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and at the same time, challenged you to publicly debate with a representative of that Party the question that only the Socialist Labor Party can and does represent the interests of the working class. Before an audience of Collinwood citizens and workmen you agreed to meet the above representative in joint discussion of the above question at any time after the election, in a public hall in Cleveland, Ohio. The "Cleveland Plain Dealer" in its morning edition of Friday, Nov. 1st, the "Cleveland Waecheiter and Auzeger" of the same date, and the New York DAILY PEOPLE, the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, in its Sunday edition of Nov. 3rd, told their readers of the bold stand you had taken in defense of the Democratic Party and its principles. Neither of these papers have retracted their report pertaining to that occurrence, neither have you denied or questioned the truthfulness thereof. A large number of citizens of Cuyahoga County, the vast majority of which are wage workers, have placed implicit trust in the principles of the Democratic Party as disseminated by your Honor during the campaign, by giving its ticket a handsome majority of votes at the last election, and they have an unqualified right to expect that an exponent of those principles be a man true to his word of honor at any time. Therefore, proceeding from the principle that your Honor your willingness to meet a representative of our Party in joint debate, the Socialist Labor Party of Cleveland, Ohio, have elected you a committee with full power to act, and we hereby challenge your Honor, in the name of the Socialist Labor Party, to meet in public debate in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, a representative of said party for a joint discussion upon the following question: "Resolved that the Socialist Labor Party and not the Democratic Party stands for the interest of the wage working class," our representative to take the affirmative, you to take the negative side of the debate.

The committee courteously requests an early answer in writing. If this challenge is accepted, and we have a right to expect its acceptance by everything that is honorable among men, we would also request that you name a committee to represent your side to meet this committee in joint session for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements.

COMMITTEE:
John D. Goerke,
Paul Dinger,
Jas. Matthews.

No answer having been received from Mr. Johnson the following was sent to him by Section Cleveland, Socialist Labor Party.

DOCUMENT NUMBER II.
Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 20th, 1901.
Hon. Tom L. Johnson,
Mayor City of Cleveland,
Dear Sir:—

We, the committee appointed by the General Committee of Section Cleveland, Socialist Labor Party, wish to inform you that we have received no answer from you in reference to the challenge to debate, issued to you and mailed by registered letter, Nov. 9th, 1901, for which we hold your receipt.

Evidently you have been informed who your opponent will be. He will be Daniel De Leon, of New York, now Editor of the DAILY PEOPLE, (copy of Nov. 18th, 1901, enclosed in this letter) Official Organ of the Socialist Labor Party, elected by the National Convention of said Party to that position. He is a gentleman who was a lecturer on International Law, and a member of the faculty of the School of Political Science of Columbia College from 1883 to 1889, who will meet you upon any platform in Cleveland or elsewhere to debate the question at issue. According to the "Plain Dealer" of Nov. 6th 1901, your mind has evidently been poisoned against De Leon, whom we assure you you will treat in every respect as a gentleman. The article in the "Plain Dealer" of said date, evidently emanated from the "Citizen" Office on Champlain Street, through men of no principle, sworn enemies of De Leon, Max S. Hayes and Robert Bandlow (leading Socialists) who were expelled from the Socialist Labor Party on account of crooked work and treason to said party. We enclose a copy of "Plain Dealer" of November 16th, 1901, which does Mr. Matthews did not challenge you to debate with him, as he has never debated with anyone in his life; secondly, debate with anyone in his life; secondly, he has not written you any letters, he is only acting on this committee by request. It is true that there will be a shorthand reporter, B. F. Keinard of the Socialist Labor Party, but the facts will not be distorted to your disadvantage or Mr. De Leon's. You have the same right to hire a stenographer for your side. The report from the "Plain Dealer" that a distorted report would be spread broadcast throughout the country is simply ridiculous, as we have only one daily paper in the English language owned and controlled by the Socialist Labor Party, which you may subscribe for, price \$3.50 per year in advance.

Mr. Johnson, if this report from the "Plain Dealer" of said date emanated from you (which we do not believe at present) it shows you are not sincere or a gentleman of honor. Either you are afraid to meet your opponent, expecting to get whipped, which would show rank cowardice on your part, or else the Democratic Party stands convicted with no principles to stand upon, and deserves condemnation by the wage workers of Cuyahoga County and the land. The "Evening News", of Detroit of June 28th, 1901, in its report of the proceedings of the National Political and Social Conference, quotes you as follows: "I say to the Socialists welcome. Now when we expect you to enlighten the wage workers and citizens why you welcome us is hard to be understood."

The Socialist Labor Party is an educational party, a fighting organization that will never compromise truth to make a friend, never withhold a blow at error lest it make an enemy. This committee, therefore, now demands from you an answer to the challenge in writing by next Monday, November 25th, 1901, at noon. Should you fail to comply with our demand, we would have to come to the conclusion that you are DETERMINED to back out, being afraid to meet the representative of our Party. In this case, the General Committee of Section Cleveland, S. L. P. would take up the matter in some other way, viz.: publishing the challenge, the above mentioned article from the "Plain Dealer," this second letter written to you, with newspaper clippings and an account of your action, or better to say, "non-action" in the local press, or should it be rejected by the newspapers, by leaflets, a sufficient number of which will be printed to give the facts printed therein the widest publicity possible, not only in the city of Cleveland and Cuyahoga county, but all over the State of Ohio and elsewhere, and Mr. Johnson we mean what we say, and we say what we mean.

Yours respectfully,
COMMITTEE.
JOHN D. GOERKE,
PAUL DINGER,
JAS. MATTHEWS.

Even this did not bring the gentleman to a realization of the fact that he had pledged his word, so a third letter was sent to him.

DOCUMENT NUMBER III.
Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 23, 1901.
Hon. Tom L. Johnson,
Mayor City of Cleveland,
Dear Sir:—

We glean from the daily newspapers that you will not be at home before the forepart of next week, therefore in all fairness to you, to enable you to answer our challenge, and letters of November 9th and 21st, demanding an answer we will have to extend the time to November 28th, 1901, at noon. Section Cleveland of the Socialist Labor Party is expecting an answer from you by that time.

Yours respectfully,
COMMITTEE.
JOHN D. GOERKE,
PAUL DINGER,
JAS. MATTHEWS.

Finally Mr. Johnson sent in the following insulting, weak and decidedly ungentlemanly excuse:

DOCUMENT NO. IV.
W. B. Gongwer, Secretary,
The City of Cleveland,
Mayor's Office.
Tom L. Johnson, Mayor.
Nov. 27, 1901.
Messrs John D. Goerke, Paul Dinger, and James Matthews, care of Mr. Frank Erbe, 239 St. Clair St., Cleveland, O.

Gentlemen—I have received from you three communications, and take this opportunity to reply to them.

At the meeting in Collinwood to which you refer, Mr. Matthews proposed a joint debate in Collinwood, which I declined; offering instead to debate in Cleveland. He objected, saying I would pack the house. To this I replied: "I will rent the hall and give you all the tickets." This proposition he did not at the time accept. Your three communications bearing on this subject seem to be an acceptance, but the spirit of these letters is so manifestly unfair, abusive and ungentlemanly that I cannot think any good will come from a debate entered into in that spirit, and I therefore decline.

Yours very truly,
TOM L. JOHNSON.

A MALICIOUS LIE NAILED.
"Arbetaren" Shows a Falshood So All May See It.

The following appeared in our Swedish organ, "Arbetaren," on December 5th:

"T. A. HICKEY
"Wants to Arrange a New Kangaroo 'Coup'—Is Fishing in Troubled Waters and Expects Support From Swedish Comrades.

"We wish to make a few observations and statements on the subject of a certain circular issued by the 'Executive Board of N. T. A. G.' and we believe they will meet the approval of all our Scandinavian members of the Socialist Labor Party.

"The circular accuses the officers of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. of corruption, but it goes about its 'proof' in a most fishy way, or, in other words, it tries to strengthen its cause by assertions and accusations that are utterly false. See, for instance, the assertion that 'the Swedish S. L. P. branch in Newark is disrupted'—(which, of course, is intended to show that that is in consequence of the alleged corruption of the party officer holders. Equally untrue is the assertion 'the fight is being carried into the Scandinavian section in New York.'

"The fact is, as is well known to every Swede who reads Arbetaren, that the Newark branch was neither disrupted nor dissolved, even though its activity has been diminished in consequence of a strike lost last spring, which compelled many of its active members to seek for work elsewhere. A letter to 'Arbetaren' on November 21, reports that the Newark branch met Sunday, November 17, and acted on a number of party matters, and among other things voted on a delegate to the Alliance convention in Providence. Judging from its activity, the branch must be still in possession of a good deal of activity.

"The circular does not mention at all the strike that forced so many of our comrades to leave Newark. On the contrary, the author is fishing in troubled waters, and tries to connect the weakness of the Newark branch with the alleged corruption, without trying to prove any connection between the two.

"As to the assertion that 'the fight is being carried into the Scandinavian Section of New York,' it will be sufficient to state that to the present time the section has had absolutely nothing to do with the 'fight,' still less has it been considering any revolt against the party officers, whose election or deposition it knows it has a voice in deciding.

"According to the circular, Hickey, on election night, 1900, said, among other things, to THE DAILY PEOPLE staff that if he could not 'help build up the Alliance in New York (by a new method of organization, it will be observed) this winter . . . there will be a scrap on hand that will make the 10th of July look as mild as a Quaker meeting.'

"This shows that even in the fall of 1900 Hickey had made up his mind that he should become a salaried party agitator, and that, in the event of his offer being rejected, he intended to arrange a coup d'etat against the Socialist Labor Party.

"Further along in the circular, however, it is said that it was not until February, 1901, that 'open and brazen corruption showed its head in the Alliance in New York City.'

"From these assertions only two conclusions can be drawn:—
"1—Either, that Hickey, on election night, 1900, did NOT know that corruption existed within the Party and the Alliance, and in that case his threat of revolt was a proof of corruption on HIS part, and a want of loyalty to the Party and Alliance, which surely themselves AND NOT THEIR OFFICERS are to decide whether or not a new method of organization is to be adopted—
"2—Or, Hickey DID know on election night, 1900, that the corruption alleged in the circular existed, and in that case also he shows himself corrupt, as he was offering his services as an agitator to the very same officers he now accuses of being corrupt, instead of, as he was in duty bound, prosecuting them for their corruption, to say nothing of the fact that it is the Party and not its officers that can elect and instruct organizers.

"In both instances, therefore, Hickey shows himself to be corrupt, and we think that all the Scandinavian branches of the S. L. P. ought to consider their duty to emphatically repudiate the insinuation that they want anything to do with his 'revolt,' his 'no politics during the winter' agitation or with the 'fight' that the circular says is being carried into the Scandinavian Section of New York, and that is to say force the riotous elements to retreat."

Remarkable political and economic phenomena have crowded upon each other so closely during the past few years that it almost seems as if the spirit of Evolution must recognize the artificial divisions of time and feel itself quickened by the strenuous life of the new century. Truly things have been moving with marvelous rapidity, and those who are gifted with the clearer vision and the keener sense find themselves at times almost dazzled by the swiftly changing spectacle, and dizzy with the rapid motion of the onward rush of things. It is as glorious as it is terrible to live consciously in the midst of the greatest Revolution of all time.

And the close of this world-epoch is marked, not only by the shifting positions toward each other, but by the internal changes and general reactionary spirit of each separate nation as well, and above all by the rapid banding together of mankind into two distinct classes. I think it was Liebknecht who said, in his last written work, that there are now only two nations, the nation of the workers, and the nation of the employers.

Now it is in the United States of America, the great bourgeois Republic, that the real nature of the struggle is most clearly manifested. This country is the creation of the present economic system. Here Capitalism has realized itself, here it has culminated, here it is toppling, here it must fall. It is a great thing to be an American, or would be if an American were a possibility. But, in a land where all militant peoples are blended, where the spirit of the times possesses everything, at a time, too, when the Zeitgeist is more than usually dominant, there seems to be absolutely nothing which can be called "un-American"—not even culture.

However this may be, it is plain that the Revolution must work itself out here, for it is here alone that the Bourgeoisie, unhampered by the ghost of Feudalism, is free to perfect the trusts, those mighty combinations of capital which are the natural results of the present system and the unconscious heralds of the new. In this word, it is here alone that the Class Struggle, always the dominant force of the Revolution, can have full play. Here, the brushing aside of the petty shopkeepers and small producers (and they are falling out of line fast enough to suit the most impatient) will bring Labor and Capital face to face, where they must stand before the fight can reach the finish.

It is not to be wondered at that the death of a system should be marked by bloodshed, and the Capitalist system, whose watchword is gain, and whose ruling passion is greed, might well be expected, in its last convulsions, to produce wars more terrible and more useless, and barbarities more revolting (in the light of present civilization at least) than those of the past.

Nor is it surprising that in America, where the strenuous life reaches its height, lynch law should prevail in one part of the country and unarmed strikers be slaughtered with impunity in another, and that the paths of the railroads and factories should be strewn with countless victims of carelessness and greed. It is said that human life is valued more highly to-day than it was in the middle ages. True the people of to-day value their own lives more highly, and perhaps those of their own class, but with regard to the other class it is otherwise.

In the midst of so much death and destruction an occasional assassination need cause no special comment. All trades have their casualties. No factory, at the beginning of the year, can prophesy which, or how many of its hands will fall victims before the close; the same principle holds good with the trade of ruler. In the light of the present position of the march of Empire it is more shocking than surprising that an accident should happen to the president of the United States.

It is interesting, however, to note how, in the shock of this accident, the true nature of the Zeitgeist declared itself. Desire of gain with its ever accompanying spirit of murder predominated. It is a pity that the bourgeoisie must be vulgar even in its sorrow. Through the sable draperies of the grief-stricken nation the soul of the merchant looked insolently forth, and though it is certainly in bad taste to criticize a person or a people in time of mourning, yet the unsympathetic observer can hardly help regretting that the bargaining spirit was so evident even in our nation's funeral pall.

Moreover the spectacle of that lonely, misguided boy, standing so quietly before the tribunal of his country, waiting so quietly in his cell, walking so quietly to his death, might almost have aroused sympathy in the weak. The clergy dared not pray for him, his family dared not weep for him; it is possible that certain voiceless observers may have been led to wish that they, too, possessed some influence with the omnipotent commercial god, or that the fountain of their tears had not run dry, flowing for greater things. But he has answered for blood with blood, and more important matters engage the philosophic mind. The spirit that moved him to the deed is not far to seek; but in reality his little incident can hardly be reckoned one of the signs of the times. The hysteria of Assassination has never been an outcome of Revolution. It has broken out occasionally all through history, and will continue to break out as long as glaring inequalities are flaunted before the eyes of the weak and suffering.

Indeed these passing events, seemingly so ominous, are only significant through their bearing on the Class Struggle, whose rapidly changing aspect is at last attracting the dull interest of the bourgeois economist. Omens of a coming clash between labor, PROPERLY organized, and capital itself stripped of disguise, are thick in the air.

In Economics as well as in other sciences the workings of a whole system may be seen epitomized in a comparatively small part, and though no real results can be obtained from a partial struggle, yet the nature of the fight can be determined and conclusions drawn therefrom. So the recent water-front

PASSING EVENTS

strike of San Francisco and vicinity, with many of the details of which the readers of THE PEOPLE are familiar, presented to the interested spectator a miniature struggle in which the workmen and large employers met face to face, while the retailer and small producer stood by, clasping their little hands in impotent wrath. There was a grim humor in the situation. The uselessness of these middlemen was so apparent, and their sense of injury so absurd.

Badly equipped and badly led as the strikers were, and totally ignorant of the real nature of their fight, there was but one outcome—failure. But that failure was heavy with portents, for before the strike was over the pride of the city was laid low, and there was no man, woman, or child in San Francisco who did not realize, for once, who are the real people of the earth. "What if they should be able to hold out?" was the cry. What indeed!

A word as to the ending of this strike will not be amiss just here, because the ending itself was somewhat peculiar and carried its own lesson. The affair had dragged on for months with unchanged front, and a sort of despair had settled over the city, when, one Saturday night in the middle of October, a slight riot occurred on Kearney street. A band of strikers attacked some special officers and the regular policemen shot one or two bystanders, just by way of comment. The Governor hastened to the city, a few hurried meetings were held, and the strike was declared off. There was some mysterious talk about "terms of settlement," but those "terms" were never divulged, obviously because no terms were made. Various reports were circulated as to the methods used to bring about the end. One was that the Governor took advantage of the riot to threaten the city with martial law, and so frightened the leaders; another that the leaders had been bribed; a third that the strikers were worn out and discouraged. The "Examiner" reported a grand victory for Labor, defeat of the Employers' Association, etc., etc. This was, of course, pure fabrication. The somewhat doubtful honor of a conversation with a member of their august Association gave your correspondent the employers' side of the question. "Neither the Mayor nor the Governor had any influence whatsoever," said my informant, "the Association made NO concessions, COULD NOT MAKE THEM. The affair wore itself out as was to be expected." The real cause of the abrupt ending of the strike is doubtless to be found in a combination of the given reasons. Threats and bribes for the leaders, starvation and discouragement for the men.

And now mark the next act in the drama. The Trades Unions go into politics, and moreover they are successful. Schmitz of the Labor Party is Mayor of San Francisco! It is announced that the Unions were ruled, in their convention, by a faction of the Republican party. It is proclaimed that they were entirely governed by the "Examiner" staff. It is too true that they were badly led in their political as in their economic struggle. Moreover the politics of the city were in a topsy-turvy condition owing, for the most part, to a clash in the Republican ranks at the primaries. With the Republican papers backing the Democratic nominees, and the "Examiner" perjuring itself nobly for love of the workman, the two great parties were placed in a situation somewhat ambiguous, to say the least, and a third party had a better chance than usually falls to such; nevertheless, after a careful study of all sides of the question, and an examination of the returns of the different districts, it is my opinion that the workmen stood pretty solid in the election as well as in the strike. It is unquestionable that they gave the Employer's Association a little surprise which was not altogether agreeable. To be sure the election matters little to the Capitalist who can buy what legislation he pleases; to be sure the Labor Mayor could not, even if he would, be of any use to his party; moreover this Mayor is most reactionary in principle, as indeed, in his whole constituency; nevertheless he was nominated, and, for the most part, elected by the workmen, and his failure will be a most significant lesson to those who based their hope on him. One by one the old superstitions are falling. IT IS CLOSING IN.

The ridiculous farce of the half-way measure policy in time of Revolution is well demonstrated in the position of the Social Democratic Party of this city. The Trades Unions here are permeated with the members of the S. D. P. and yet no Unions are more reactionary in principle. A proposition to unite the two parties was presented by the S. D. P. to the Union Labor Convention and was contemptuously THROWN aside. Indeed the Unions have more respect for the Socialist Labor Party which has fought them consistently from beginning to end than for the friendly Social Democracy.

These convulsive changes in the attitude of Labor, so violent in their manifestations, so reactionary in their results, so promising in the individual, so discouraging in the mass, are positive proofs of the necessity of a straight Revolutionary Party, with a clearly defined policy and an unmistakable position.

I believe that it marked an era in history when, in 1899, the Socialist Labor Party threw off all disguise, shook itself free from all middle class connexions, and entered upon its present stern, uncompromising course; when it cast aside its unsteady platform and took its stand upon the earth. But severe remedies do not often meet with sudden popularity, and the good showing made by the party throughout the country, in this year's elections, was a surprise to many. The unbending policy of the S. L. P. has made a wavering, sentimental vote impossible. The man who votes our ticket to-day votes for the Social Revolution, and for nothing else. To compare this year's vote with that polled by the party before 1899 is like comparing kernels of winnowed wheat with chaff gleaned from the highways.

THE CAUSE IS MOVING.
—JANE A. ROULSTON.

THE FIELD OF LABOR

The National Civic Federation.

The capitalists in all sections of the country are greatly pleased at the outcome of the meeting of the National Civic Federation in New York City this city during the week ending Saturday Dec. 21. The headquarters of the Civic Federation in New York City is deluged with letters and telegrams of approval and rejoicing from these capitalists. They recognize instinctively that the work of those meetings has strengthened their position as the dominating and controlling power of this country. They recognize that once more the working class has been betrayed, and that through the action of the leaders of "organized labor," they have been again placed in the saddle from whence they can direct and control the movements of their wage slaves, to the greater profit and glory of themselves.

This condition is plainly revealed in the composition of the Committee of Thirty-six on Arbitration and Mediation, and the principles and methods by which it will be governed.

The Committee of Thirty-six is composed of twelve capitalists, twelve representatives of "organized labor," and twelve so-called neutrals, every one of whom is either a capitalist himself or is of pronounced capitalist sympathies and tendencies. In other words, the capitalist class predominates on this alleged "impartial" body. Why then should not the capitalists of this country rejoice at the appointment of this committee? What danger is there to them, in that committee, as at present composed?

The Committee of Thirty-six, is said, will substitute "calm common sense methods of business for the wasteful and terribly destructive warfare of strikes."

From this it is to be inferred that there is something sublimely benevolent and beneficial in "calm common sense business methods," and that the working class has consequently more to hope from them than from strikes.

Was it not the "calm common sense business methods" of Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, that led them to falsely report the results of the Boer-Brish negotiations, in order that they might precipitate the Transvaal war and manufacture an excuse for seizing the territory occupied by the South African Republics? Is it not the "calm common sense business methods" of the capitalists, that leads to the debauching of legislatures, the corrupting of the judiciary, the purchase of voters, the crushing out of competitors, the confiscation of small investors, the adulteration of foods, the employment of weak and puny children, the reduction of wages, the exploitation of labor, and the many political, social and industrial evils from which society, especially the working class suffers? With "business" synonymous with war, corruption, fraud, cruelty, confiscation, adulteration and exploitation, what can the working class hope from its methods but an intensification of all the evils it produces. Generally speaking then, to rely upon the "calm common sense methods" of the capitalists, is to rely upon the very means of their success in the economic world.

"But," it may be said, "the 'calm common sense business method' is specified by the Committee of Thirty-six; it is that of the yearly agreement between capital and labor."

The inference to be drawn from this is that such an agreement is one which the capitalists will sacredly keep and labor effectively enforce. Experience does not justify such a conclusion. The Albany strike is a case in point. There an agreement was reached between the traction capitalists and their motormen and conductors. That agreement is not observed, nor is it enforced; it is a dead letter. Discharge awaits those who seek to organize strikes to compel its fulfillment.

The fact is the capitalist yearly agreement is but a means to divide labor and to defeat any general movement for the improvement of its condition.

Recent events clearly demonstrate this fact. It was clearly shown in the strike of the machinists, when the ironworkers were prevented from assisting them by the existence of their contract. Likewise was it shown in the strike of the anthracite Mine Firemen, when the United Mine Workers, gave the same excuse for scabbing on them. Further evidence under this head may be gathered from the unfriendly conduct of the various organizations of railroad employees, who do not hesitate to betray one another in order to secure favorable contracts.

So great is the friction in the ranks of "organized labor," arising from this condition of affairs, that it threatens to split them asunder eventually.

The matter was aired before the recent A. F. of L. convention at Scranton in the resolutions on trade autonomy.

The dangers involved in it were so many that the convention dared not tackle the subject itself, but referred it to a special committee, where it was buried. The fight in the unions however, continue with greater virulence and vigor.

With yearly agreements dividing labor and rendering its hosts into antagonistic factions, the capitalists have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Through the influence of the unions that may be successful in securing favorable terms from them, they will keep the greater part of the working class in subjugation, just as at present they are enabled to keep their employees in the factories in line by giving a certain number of them known as foremen, etc., a small interest in their business. With the working class in subjugation the capitalists of this country will continue in their triumphant struggle for the world markets. They will then be enabled to march capital and labor on the foe as one solid whole. No wonder that they rejoice. No wonder that they hasten to express their approval of the work of the National Civic Federation.

THE FIELD OF CAPITAL

The Tobacco Trust.

The Standard Oil Company has a new imitator. Another trust has arisen that will extend its ramifications into foreign countries and assume the international features that make the Rockefeller institution a power all over the world. This trust is the Consolidated Tobacco Company, a \$120,000,000 corporation known as "The Tobacco Trust," and "The Cigar Trust." It is composed of the American Tobacco Company and the American Cigar Company, and numerous other corporations, engaged in the manufacture of smoking, chewing and plug tobaccos, cigars, cigarettes and stogies. It is the owner of patent automatic cigarette and cigar making machines, and of large tobacco plantations in this country and Cuba.

The course of this company has been watched with much anxiety abroad. The purchase of Cuban plantations in the early spring, was regarded as detrimental to English manufacturers, who purchased their supplies there. It was the opinion of German manufacturers that this presaged an invasion by the trust of English and possibly German markets.

This opinion was justified during the past summer, when the Tobacco Trust entered the English market, with the announcement that it would spend \$5,000,000 a year to secure control of the market. This announcement created the greatest consternation and immediately led to the formation of various opposing corporations which declared that they would spend much more to prevent the trust from succeeding in its laudable efforts to crush them.

One of these corporations is known as the Imperial Tobacco Company, of London. It is capitalized at \$75,000,000. Though it professes to believe in competition as the ruling factor in economic affairs, it also places considerable faith in patriotism as an aid. Though it is practically a trust itself, it breaks out in denunciation of its American competitor and appeals to the Britains in behalf of British labor, capital and trade.

In its prospectus the British Trust announces that "Americans, whose markets are closed by prohibitive tariffs against British goods, have declared their intention of monopolizing the tobacco trade of this country."

"It is for British public to decide whether British labor, capital and trade are to be subordinate to the American system of trust monopoly and all that is implied therein."

"The Imperial Tobacco Company, of Great Britain and Ireland, will be an amalgamation of British manufacturers, who have closed their ranks with a determination to hold the British trade for British people."

"Its aim is to provide the vast smoking public with cigarettes and tobaccos unexcelled in quality and made solely by means of British labor and capital."

The American Tobacco Trust talks differently. Having a larger capitalization, better machinery and control of the tobacco supply, it scouts patriotism and goes it strong on competition. One of the directors of the American Tobacco Trust said, referring to the opposition of the Imperial Tobacco Company: "We anticipated and prepared for just such a fight when we invaded the British field. We can make and sell tobacco cheaper than our English rivals—and we are going to do it."

The opinion of the German manufacturers mentioned before was more than justified during the week ending Saturday, December 21st.

Then it was announced that:

"According to a Berlin correspondent, The American Tobacco combination has made an incursion into Germany, and it proposes later to carry the war into Russia. For 2,000,000 marks the combine has bought the Jasmate cigarette factory in Dresden, the third largest in the empire, with a capacity of 200,000,000 cigarettes a year. The combine has also acquired the business of Kyvizi Brothers, in Berlin, who control the most popular brand of Egyptian cigarettes sold in Europe. These transactions were completed several weeks ago, but only became known upon the arrival in Berlin, this week, of President Duke, of the American concern. It is believed two other Dresden factories will be absorbed, and then Mr. Duke intends turning his attention to Russia, where a still greater field is said to exist."

From this it will be seen that the invasion did not stop at Germany but is extending into Russia, a country not included in the German manufacturers' considerations.

What the result of this invasion will be is clear. It will increase the power of the Consolidated Tobacco Company at home and abroad. It will hasten the destruction of the feudalistic barriers which to a great extent prevent the creation of the trust system of production in European countries. It will compel the unfettered adoption of capitalism, with all its evils and dangers. It will, in other words, create that wide division and antagonism of classes, which make for Socialism.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES
In 1888..... 2,068
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 86,564
In 1900..... 34,191



Manhood, in general, care very little for forms of government, or ideal considerations of any sort; and nothing really stirs the great multitude to break with custom and incur the manifold perils of revolt except the belief that misery in this world or damnation in the next, or both, are threatened by the continuance of the state of things in which they have been brought up. But when they do attain that conviction, society becomes as unstable as a package of dynamite, and a very small matter will produce the explosion which sends it back to the chaos of savagery. HUXLEY.

"GOOD!" SO SAY THEY ALL.

Recent actions by the leaders of the pure and simple Unions and their political boot-lickers, the "Social Democratic," alias "Socialist," alias "Public Nuisance," alias "Multi-Coca" party, justify the conclusion that this gentry feel the power of the tide that the Socialist Labor Party is raising against them, and they feel constrained to drop the Labor mask and publicly ally themselves with the brigand forces of the capitalist class, that they have been pretending to fight. A few of these evidences will serve, not as straws, but as big beams that tell the direction of this particular stream.

The Hannas and Schwabs are seen arm and arm with the Gomperses, Lynches and the rest of the Organized Scabbery. No sooner have the latter shown what they could do in scuttling the aspirations of the workers in the Convention of the A. F. of L., than they hie themselves to New York here to furnish a public spectacle of their solidarity with the leading magnates of the class that lives upon the plunder of the workers.

As if this were not enough of a demonstration, and as if to give it point in advance, Lynch, President of the I. T. U., tolerates, if he does not himself incite, an outrage upon a member of his Houston, Tex., local by its very officers at the very time that that member was suffering bodily pains through an outrage perpetrated upon him by the political lackeys of capitalism in punishment for his fearless advocacy of the rights of the working class. This fact can not be too strongly emphasized. It is covered by Comrade Samuel J. Garrison in the following passage of his recently published graphic narrative on the outrage committed upon Comrade Frank D. Lyon in Beaumont, Tex.:

"He rendered the Party conspicuous service in exposing the perfidy of the labor fakirs, and especially those who were 'socialistically' inclined. He continued the fight against these foul traitors to the working class so effectually upon his return to Houston, that the Organized Scabbery, which dominates the Typographical Union of that city as completely as the same element does its twin-sister of San Antonio, which honors with monuments those who successfully swindle their fellow workers, suspended him, expecting thereby to silence him and rescue their fellow-fakirs while they had a shred of reputation left to hide their nefarious deeds. When the Organized Scabbery realized that he had an appeal then pending and that their attempt to starve a Militant Socialist into submission was a failure, they crowned their infamous warfare by expelling him, without notice of trial, notwithstanding that he had an appeal then pending against their unjust and unlawful sentence of suspension; the cowardly and lying excuse being that he was a member of a 'rat' organization, as they are pleased to term the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the economic arm of the Socialist Labor Party. The notice of his expulsion from the Houston Typographical Union was given at a time when he was writing in bodily torture from the cruel beating inflicted by the Beaumont ruffians, thus demonstrating the close affinity existing between Organized Scabbery and Capitalist Brigandage, which indeed is an illustration of

"Two minds with but a single thought; 'Two hearts that beat as one,'"

And as if to round up the affair, the Cleveland, O., "Citizen," edited by a member of the said I. T. U. and of the afore-named "alias" party, contains in its issue of last November 10, the following item:

"Two more Deleputes, named Crim-

mins and Harris, were fined and suspended by Syracuse Typographical Union for maligning the organization. GOOD!"

"Good!" So say the Beaumont ruffians, so says Hanna, so says Gompers, so says Schwab, so says Lynch, so says Rockefeller, so, in short, says the whole capitalist class, in chorus with the Organized Scabbery.

WHICH IS TEXT, AND WHICH IS EXEGESIS?

As a rule, there is no difficulty in telling text from exegesis, or explanation. The text is usually short, the exegesis long. By their looks they can be told apart with ease. But here comes a double-barreled phenomenon that puzzles. It is the annual convention of the A. F. of L. in Scranton, and the "Convention of Capital and Labor," held in this city in the rooms of the Board of Trade and Transportation.

The Scranton gathering met to the tune that the conduct of the Gompers organization of cigarmakers, in furnishing the capitalists of Tampa with scabs and deputy marshals to lower the wages of Union men on strike, was a meritorious act; it kept step to the refrain that the interests of the workingman and the capitalist are identical; and it wound up in a grand gyrotechnic of glorification of Labor and loyalty to the rights of the capitalist.

The Board of Trade and Transportation gathering—at which all the luminaries of the Scranton gathering assisted and were joined by luminaries of the capitalist world—met to the tune (sung by the labor-fleecers) that laborers and labor-fleecers are "fellow laborers" (Oscar Straus of the wan-looking female wage-slaves of the "Macy" and other Straus labor-fleecing concerns), that the Trades Union in which the check-off system is in vogue is just the thing (Mark Hanna of Hazelton and numerous other bloody fiends of labor celebrity), that the wicked Trusts must be smashed (C. M. Schwab, President of the United States Steel Trust); and the tune was sung to the orchestration, conducted by the Scranton luminaries above referred to and others of their kind, that capital, being the creature of Labor, therefore, Labor should be dependent upon capital (Grand Master of Locomotive Firemen Sargent), that there is a community of interests between workingmen and employers (Samuel Gompers), that the workingman has no right to interfere with the manufacturer's affairs (Eaton of the Tobin interests to squeeze dues out of the workers under the name of United Boot and Shoeworkers' Union), and that Hanna is a good friend of Labor to whom Labor owed and hereby gave an apology (John Phillips of the Hatters' Union).

Now, which of the two gatherings is the text, and which the exegesis? Is the Scranton convention the text, which, being considered obscure, had to be explained by the Board of Trade and Transportation exegesis of Captains of Capital and their Labor Lieutenants meeting to give and receive the apologies of Labor to its fleecers, and emphasize the "community of interests" that exists between the parasite and the body it feeds on? Or is this Board of Trade and Transportation pow-wow the text, the explanation to which is to be found in the applause with which the Tampa services, rendered to the capitalist class by its Labor Lieutenants, were received at the Scranton gathering?

The thing is perplexing. Who can throw light on the "Dark Affair," worthy of furnishing the pen of a Balzac with matter for another grim and dismal story under that title?

INGERSOLL REDIVIVUS.
The Memphis, Tenn., "Commercial Appeal" of the 15th instant has a one-column article on the "Mistakes of Reformers." By "reformers" the paper does not mean the tinkers with social ills. If it did, it would be condemning itself. It means by "reformers" the revolutionist Socialist. The "mistakes" it charges there are numerous. Here are a few samples:

It is a mistake, says the "Commercial Appeal," to expect equality among men.—The fact is that Socialism is the last to expect "equality among men." What the Socialist expects is "equality of opportunity among men." To-day there is no such equality. The race for happiness is not free and without favor. The working class is weighted down by being stripped of capital, while the capitalist class has wings to its feet by the possession of capital. As a result of this inequality of opportunity, there is a mass of human suffering that is wholly remediable.

It is a mistake, says the "Commercial Appeal," to see a panacea in Socialism.—The fact is that Socialism is the last to see a panacea in itself. It leaves to the "Commercial Appeal" reformers the occupation of peddling nostrums that will simultaneously cure social corals, social lumbago and social consumption—all of which are disconnected ailments. It is the "reformer" who deals in salves to be rubbed on the nose as medicaments that will cure the corn whose shooting

pangs proceed from the toe, etc., etc. Socialism is a scalpel that touches directly the social ulcer: private ownership of the natural and social opportunities without which involuntary poverty is inevitable.

It is a mistake, says the "Commercial Appeal" to assume that "all that is wrong."—The fact is Socialism does not consider that, for instance, the "Commercial Appeal" is ALL that there is. If it condemns "Commercial Appeals," it condemns a very small though very pestiferous part of "all that is." And so in other respects. Socialism condemns the private ownership of the machinery of production, but the private system under which such machinery is held is not "all that is" about the machine. Socialism highly praises the machine. Socialism condemns the potato-bug that fastens on the potato. But the bug is not ALL. The potato is more. Socialism approves of the potato. In condemning the existence of an economic class such as the capitalist class, Socialism condemns, not "all that is," but only the nuisance of the potato-bug that fastens like a parasite on the potato social.

Ingersoll, the professional atheist, delivered an address on the "Mistakes of Moses," wherein he proved to the thinking part of the population that he could make more mistakes in one hour and thirty minutes than Moses did in a lifetime. Ingersoll is dead, but the "Commercial Appeal" is his reincarnation. It can commit more mistakes in one column than all the Socialists rolled in one could commit in their whole lives.

THE PICKLE THEY ARE IN.

The suit brought against the Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company nearly three years ago by the Trolley-men's Local of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, was, as announced in these columns, brought to a successful termination after a two day's trial on the 17th instant. The jury found the Company guilty as charged in the indictment, and the verdict was rendered within twenty-five minutes after the jury left their seats. Whatever may be the fate of the case after this—whether the Company submits; whether it appeal the case, as it threatens to do, on the constitutionality of the law; and whether its appeal be sustained or denied—the Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company, together with other railroad companies in the State, and accompanied by their lackeys the Organized Scabbery, is in unenviable pickle.

The Ten Hour Railroad Labor law was passed in 1892. Like all such laws, it was intended as a sop at the rank and file of the workers, and for the special protection of the Organized Scabbery that officers them. Without such periodical sops, the Organized Scabbery could not keep the blinkers on their dupes making them believe that the Socialists were "off" and that the old parties were their friends. Such sops or "laws" would then be paraded as "victories of Unionism"; and the expectation is that the "victory" will be forgotten, and the capitalist class would continue to ride the working class with the Organized Scabbery holding the stirrups.

It so happened in this case. The "victory" was understood to be so dead a letter that, when the rank and file of the Buffalo switchmen were forced to work twelve and fourteen and more hours a day, and when subsequently the trolley-men of Brooklyn were likewise forced to work many hours above the legal stretch, the Organized Scabbery that officered them carefully led their thoughts away from the Courts. An action on the statute would either give hand and feet to the "victory" (to the Companies' sorrow), or it would uncover the deadness of the "victory" (to the Organized Scabbery's sorrow). Neither Companies nor lackeys wanted that. Instead, the rank and file were led into strikes where they were bayoneted into submission.

The action of the S. T. & L. A. Trolley-men's Local was the first attempt made to test the law. If the law is found to hold water, the Companies will be put to serious inconvenience and expense to bribe their employees into keeping quiet; if the law is declared unconstitutional, then the Organized Scabbery will be put to it in order to find some new pretext to keep their dupes in tow. In either case the Companies are in a pickle, and their Labor Lieutenants are in a pickle.

Animated by true philanthropy, the Socialist Labor Party strains to get this gentry out of the pickle they are in. And there is but one way to get them out, and that is to kick them out of political and thereby out of economic power.

ROOSEVELT'S SENSE OF POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE.

There is one passage in President Roosevelt's message to Congress that is worth all the rest. It is worth all the rest because all the rest are of the style of trite declamation common to all such documents, and allowing not the slightest insight into the individuality of the message-writer, whereas the one

passage in question acts like an X-ray that conveys an accurate idea of the thoughts that the President is revolving. The passage runs this way:

"Next to the farmer, most important is the workman."

It would be a waste of time to hold up this passage to view with the pitchfork of social science, and illustrate both the historic anachronism expressed, and the absurd social parsing implied in the sentence. Everybody knows that the day of the farmer as a leading class lies, in the language of Artemus Ward, "in the dim and distant vister" of "the dollar of our daddies"; and so does everybody know that to divide modern society into farmers and workmen is like dividing the equine race into draft-horses and ponies. The significance of the passage lies not in its blunderbussing. Indeed, looked upon from its blunderbussing side this notable sentence would have nothing to distinguish it from the others. In what then consists its singular merit? In this President Roosevelt has matured so rapidly in the art of political "Get-there" that he has reached to its fullest the otherwise difficult sense of political perspective.

Politicians with the presidential bee in their bonnets have been slaughtered by the bushel "outside of the breastworks" of nominating conventions for lack of just this sense of political perspective. They want to be President. The ardor of the desire makes them vault over intermediaries. Votes are needed to be elected. The workmen poll ONE HUNDRED votes to every ONE vote polled by any other set of folks. Forthwith our presidential-bee-in-the-bonnet politician begins to scrape and boy before the Workmen, whose friend, long-lost but finally found brother the politician announces himself. But in thus fawning upon the Workman the politician neglects to pay the court to the Farmer, and there he dies, not because the Farmer holds the scales, on election day, but because he holds the scales on nomination day, a day that precedes election day and on which the Workman has nothing, or hardly anything, to say. In nominating conventions the Farmer's friendship is useful to a great degree, his lack of friendship proportionally damaging. Nine out of every ten politicians with the presidential bee in their bonnet lack the sense of political perspective that correctly places nominations before elections, and would guide them, accordingly, to give their first thought to the Farmer, placing the Workman as "next in importance."

Roosevelt does not propose falling into that pit. The Workman can wait. After he has secured the nomination for President, it will be then time enough for him to ingratiate himself with the Workmen, lunching them vicariously by feeding and wining some pronounced limbs of the Organized Scabbery as he did when, immediately after his nomination for Governor in 1898 he "tipped the elbow" with the ex-Anarchist convict Heinrich Weissmann and the sweet-scented Korkowsky, alias Harry White.

Young Vanderbilt has come into the possession of wealth to the amount of \$7,500,000. This is the result of his directive genius in never having performed a single stroke of work in the whole 21 years of his life. The wealth represents the plunder of \$300 a year from at least 25,000 workmen. Great is capital and its wholesale style of doing business.

The flour mills of the West are closing down, because, owing to the industrial depression, European countries are not importing much flour. This will result in "hard times" in the West, and the mill men and those dependent upon them will undergo the same suffering that their European brothers endure. Suffering on the part of the working class is just as international as raciality, plundering and unmitigated inequality, penance is on the part of the capitalist class and each and all of its supporters, spokesmen, apologists, and representatives, direct and indirect.

The Rev. Mr. Funk, prohibitionist, has gotten into a little trouble over a combination land scheme and prohibition colony in which he was engaged. A man who was to assist in the foundation of the colony, which was the basis of the land scheme, has sued him for \$6,804 owed him for work in connection with it. Mr. Funk is an astute business man, and doubtless he has made prohibition pay hitherto, but on this occasion he seems to have undertaken more than he could carry through. Still he should not be discouraged. There are numerous other ways of disposing of land. The worthless land in question was the one that was proposed by Richard J. Hinton of the Social Democracy for the colony.

There were nine men, workmen, scared to a crisp by a mass of molten iron in the Pittsburgh mill of Jones and Laughlin. This, like so many thousands of similar cases, comes under the head of the "risks" of capital. The risk to the capitalist is that the courts may possibly though not probably, force him to pay a few hundred dollars to the families of the slaughtered men.

A Boston motorman, with ambition, invested in copper stock all he had saved during years of denial and semi-starvation. When the crash came all he had was wiped out. Then he shot himself. The crash was engineered by speculators, just as the inflation was engineered by them. A little thing like being responsible for a man's death should not

be allowed to frighten capital, poor, timid capital. The motorman was not alone in his losses. There were hundreds of others who had dribbled in their pennies to swell the sum of the copper companies' riches. They, too, have lost all. But there is a big gain for some, and the elimination of the small fry will serve to clear the social atmosphere.

The International Cigarmakers' Union has been fighting the two firms of Hirsch, Mack & Company, and Kerbs, Wertheim & Schiffer for over two years. There has been the most widespread boycott ever instituted levied on their goods. "Labor" papers have announced that they "don't patronize," fakirs have been persuading unions to fight the cigars, and yet the firms now say that their business has grown to such a size that they are going to take the field and fight for the trade of the Cigar Trust. Both firms are running to their fullest capacity, and in some of the factories overtime is necessary. A new and gigantic plant is to be built to accommodate the consolidated firm. This case is one of the best illustrations of the absolute impotence of the pure and simple unions.

The South is again angry, because it fears that President Roosevelt will appoint a negro to office. He undoubtedly will appoint one if he sees that the appointment would keep the negro voters in line for the Republican Party, and thereby allow that party to continue in its support of the labor-fleeing capitalist class.

There is a strong fight on in Alabama because agents from Nova Scotia have been busy rounding up negroes to work in the new steel plants which have been erected in Sydney, Cape Breton. The negro is the wage slave of the South, and the very persons who take most delight in burning him at the stake are the ones who object to having him removed from the locality.

Chicago has a new sensation in a French court who is "studying our workmen." He does not, cannot study them one-half as closely as our capitalists study them when wages are to be cut down.

Political and Economic.

The Chicago "Record-Herald" has the following delicate bit of verse:

"He used to work with all his might,

But he's forgotten now:

He seldom lifts his hand to-day,

He takes his ease and draws his pay

He serves his country now."

This is a concrete and excellent expression of the most popular brand of patriotism.

"Black and White," an illustrated weekly published in England, has an advertisement that is rather startling. It is: "Highest cash prices paid for second hand, and worn-out false teeth." What is done with them is a mystery, but on the face of it it seems that it must be another instance of "philanthropy." A good natured woman will donate to the "deserving poor" a set of misfit false teeth, or a set that has been physically injured in a conflict with the good things of life. If this is not an explanation, it at least is a worthy supposition, as such an action and such a gift would be just in the line of capitalist "charity."

It is interesting to note that "Free Society," an irresponsible and vicious anarchist paper, quotes with entire and unreserved approbation the opinions of Thomas I. L. Morgan, Kangaroo Social Democrat. The Chicago anarchist and the Chicago first-person-singular seem to be ready to acknowledge their common brotherhood.

Six months ago the "Nebraska Independent" struck wildly and wordily at anything and everything that it considered anti-Populist. Among the objects of its patent inside wrath was the Democratic Party. To-day the "Independent" considers anything that is not of, for, through, by, and in the Democratic party as being anti-Populist. It still sticks to its free silver splinter, for plank it is no longer. In this way it puts itself in the most ridiculous position, for it hails the election of Patrick Collins as Mayor of Boston as a demo-pop victory, and supposedly as an advanced and bettered position for free silver. Collins is an imperialist and a goldite, and in this he but reflects the general state of his party. The "Independent" but shows the evil and impossible days that have smote the Populist party and all the fool theories that hypnotized the Populists until they are the most corrupt body of men that inhabit the earth.

Northamptonshire shoeworkers, who, if dispatches are to be believed, have been starving because of dullness in their trade, are now rioting, and smashing improved machinery introduced into the factories where they formerly worked. If this is true, British pure and simple dom, represented here by Gompers, has added another laurel leaf to its already weighty crown. It has performed another act that is in strict accord with its teachings. It has returned exactly to the point from which it started, and the Northamptonshire shoeworkers will not be alone in their machine-smashing. You can draw no other deduction from the teachings of the pure and simple unions than that machines should be smashed, that other workmen should be excluded from all opportunities for employment, and that there should be formed within the wage working class a small body of men to whom all work should be given. Machine-smashing, exclusion, persecution for free speech, as in the Syracuse Typographical Union in this State, scabbing such as goes on between the members of the K. of L. and the A. F. of L. and one another, and refusals to recognize the cards of other organizations, are all one and the same thing. They are a manifestation of the utter impotence, the utter corruption, and the utter viciousness of the pure and simple union, whether that union exists here in this country or in England.

JOHN SWINTON,

The demise of John Swinton does more than to remove from the stage of the Labor Movement a highly interesting figure; it brings home the fact that an old era is closing, and an old book is being sealed with the death by old age of its most brilliant representatives.

The socialistic wave that went over this country in the forties was, of course, a utopian manifestation; nevertheless, it was not a manifestation of pure sentimentality. With the writings of Owen and especially of Fourier, from which to draw inspiration, the literature and speeches of the Socialists of those days could not escape a good deal of scientific solidity. This circumstance—paradoxical as it may sound—marked the Movement inebriated in America. The material conditions were here wanting for a Movement of any degree of solidity. The ground had not yet been plowed by the plow of sentiment, a plow that ever precedes the sower and that opens the furrows for the seed to fall in. The Movement of the Forties was premature; it went under.

Its place was forthwith taken by another Movement, the very shortcomings of which gave full scope to its good qualities. This Movement was equipped with little positive information; it knew little of and cared less for scientific accuracy. It was all heart and all nerve; it was of sturdy make-up, marked with daring, integrity and fire. It was, in short, sentimental. It blazed its way by appeals to the heart, and it earned respect by the integrity of its apostles while riveting attention by the literary brilliancy of its spokesmen. John Swinton was the most conspicuous figure in that inestimable epoch.

It is natural with men as with Movements to imagine they are for all time and, accordingly, to be more or less at war with their inevitable successors. The thing is so natural that to score against the Sentimental Movement and its paladins the dissent that marked their attitude towards their natural successor—constructive and revolutionary Socialism—were an ungrateful task, most of all at John Swinton's bier. That in which such dissent was manifested deserves mention, nevertheless. It deserves mention in that it aids in the understanding of important features in the everyday life of the present, the Socialist Movement, that do not lie upon the surface. One of these features is well illustrated by an incident in which John Swinton figured.

One afternoon, early in 1892, Swinton dropped into THE PEOPLE'S office. He came to inquire how the paper, then barely a year old, was getting along. He was told that the struggle was hard, but progress was visible. His looks denoted that he doubted not the "struggle," but questioned the "progress," and he presently said:

"Well, your paper cannot live. People don't understand your language. It is too technical. All these 'class struggle,' 'surplus values,' 'proletariat,' 'bourgeois,' and other terms are not understood without a dictionary. People don't read papers with dictionaries."

After some friendly chat Swinton took his leave. Not more than ten minutes later, in came into THE PEOPLE'S office a visitor from out of town; an old war-horse in the "Reform" movement. He, too, was curious about the paper's prospect, he inquired about men and things in New York, and among others, he inquired after Swinton. When told that Swinton had vacated only a few minutes previous, he said:

"How sorry I am to have missed that grand old man! I never enjoyed anything so much as reading his paper. But, you know, ONE NEEDS A WEBSTER'S UNABRIDGED AT HAND TO UNDERSTAND HIM. HE USES SUCH HIGH LANGUAGE." (!!!)

The language used by the Sentimental Movement merely enlarged the literary vocabulary of the readers; it imparted instruction in literature only; the language of the constructive and revolutionary Socialist Movement, by familiarizing with technical terms, imparts accurate conceptions and thereby a habit of accuracy in thought and diction, all of which are essential for constructive work. "John Swinton's Paper" died: THE PEOPLE prospered and within nine years blossomed forth into a daily.

All constructive Movements bring with them their own technical terms. That the Sentimental Movement needed none, and that such were even repulsive to it, denoted the nature of its mission; that the Socialist Movement could not get along without such technical expressions, that it felt impelled to cause them to be understood, denotes its constructive character and points its heir and successor to the former.

And so it is. The Socialist Labor Party carries on to-day its constructive work aided therein by the sturdiness, the daring, the integrity and the fire handed down to it by the Movement of which John Swinton was a distinguished figure.

"A GOOD INVESTMENT."

Express Company's Christmas Gift Given With An Eye to Results.

Ten thousand employees of the American Express Company in the United States yesterday morning received notice that each man was to receive a Christmas present of \$10. It had been arranged that President Fargo's Christmas message was to be delivered simultaneously in all the offices of the company throughout the country. Every person in the company's employ, from the small boy who pastes labels on the boxes to the highest salaried officers will get \$10. Last Christmas the company gave each of its employees \$5. This year it was decided to double the amount.

W. H. Long, agent of the main office at No. 65 Broadway, where there are 1,000 employees, said yesterday: "No company ever engaged in the express business ever made a better investment. The Christmas gift costs about \$100,000, as there are 10,000 persons working for the company. But all appreciate the action on the part of the company."



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan

BROTHER JONATHAN (shaking his head from right to left.)

UNCLE SAM—Art thou worried?

B. J.—This won't do at all! (shakes his head some more.)

U. S.—Which?

B. J.—The Socialist Labor Party is too choice.

U. S.—Out with it! What is on your stomach?

B. J.—You know Tim Jimerack.

U. S.—I do.

B. J.—Doesn't he want the Co-operative Commonwealth?

U. S. (hesitatingly)—Well, yes, ultimately; he wants, however, Prohibition first.

B. J.—Do you know Dick Riggamagig?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Doesn't he want the Co-operative Commonwealth?

U. S. (again hesitating)—Yes; but he also only ultimately; what he wants first is the single tax.

B. J.—And you know Bob Freak?

U. S.—The chap who wants free coinage at the rate of 16 to 1?

B. J.—But doesn't he also want the Co-operative Commonwealth?

U. S.—He says so.

B. J.—Do you doubt him?

U. S.—Granted he means it; but he wants first of all a deluge of silver.

B. J.—Well at any rate they are all agreed that we must have Socialism. Why don't the S. L. P. go with them?

U. S.—Who is there who would not like to live in a fine, large, noble-looking, spacious house?

B. J.—No one.

U. S.—Every one aims at that?

B. J.—Certainly, every one.

U. S.—And would you for that reason take any one to build such a house?

B. J.—Not much.

U. S.—You would take a man who knows architecture?

B. J.—Most assuredly.

U. S.—If you think some one is no architect, much though he may aim at a good house, you won't engage him?

B. J.—Not if I know myself.

U. S.—You realize that a fellow who does not know architecture may make a holy mess of the job?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—That being so, how can you, without kicking yourself, conclude that because a man wants the Co-operative Commonwealth ultimately, therefore he is fit to be intrusted with the conduct of a movement that has that in view?

B. J. looks nonplussed.

U. S.—All these people whom you have mentioned may be all right in their time. But not unless you imagine their "first steps" are correct are they fit material now. The first steps are not only not correct but positively bad—as bad as if they were proposed to put on a fifth floor material that was heavier than the walls below could stand. If the Prohibition tactics were adopted, we would be butting a stone wall with our heads; if the single tax tactics were adopted, the capitalist would have things much more his own way than now, and it would be harder to fight him; as to the cheap money men's tactics, that would simply break down everything.

B. J.—

U. S.—Hold! It is additionally foolish on your part to admit that the aims that we proclaim are correct, and yet that we should go with movements that dare not proclaim an aim.

B. J.—I give in there.

U. S.—The Socialists should not abuse these people; they should try and befriended them.

U. S.—In this you are right; but you are wrong if you imply that the Socialists abuse these people. He who makes that assertion simply exercises his right to free speech, and free speech includes the right to talk nonsense. Socialists do, and it is their duty, to oppose and expose the dangerous economic theories of "reformers;" but rarely do you find any fake reformer answer with arguments. He feels he is beaten, and then he starts to abuse.

B. J.—Well, that is true, too; but that it is true is a very ominous sign. I fear we Socialists in that way make too many enemies. I think for that reason it were best to leave all those reform movements alone.

U. S.—There you do great injustice to many good men in these reform movements. The good men among them do not become enemies when they find their pet theories attacked and refuted. On the contrary, they become the staunchest of friends, and the only ones

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

A Touching Contribution to the Lyon Fund.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I have been reading in the PEOPLE about that Beaumont outrage, and I can not begin to express my sympathies for Lyon. I have told the story to my little daughters. They feel very sorry for their Papa's friend. They wanted to send him a Christmas present. But as they can not do that they want to send him the pennies that they have in their "bank." They want me to tell you to make a lot of banks and have all the children help to raise the fund.

Rena (7 years).....38 cents
Minnie (6 years).....34 "
Ruth (2 years).....22 "
May (6 months).....6 "

Total.....\$1.00

So. Norwalk, Ct., Dec. 20.
MRS. A. H. KLING.

Take Note and Don't Forget.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—To-night after a long weary day's work I take my pen in hand to let you know that although we have maintained a good silence, we of the firing line. Before going further, let me say that the comrades have shown the right spirit in the past and with perseverance the glorious light of the Socialist Republic will shine forth, and before this brilliant dawn the degradation of the working class and the criminality of the brutal capitalist class must vanish as the mist before the sun. There is no easy road to success and when emancipation dawns it will be because the workers have within their ranks brave men and true women who dared to risk their all for the sake of a principle, and refuse to bend the knee to or ask favors from their masters. Section Denver has within its folds a young and virile element who have taken up the work of propaganda with enthusiasm, and from my study of reports from the comrades throughout the country I feel assured that within the ranks of the S. L. P. are men and women who are capable of successfully combating the enemies of the working class upon the enemy's own dung-hill.

In the report of the arrest of Comrade Wm. Fowler, Carl Starkenberg and Martin Hurwitz a few details were overlooked, which I will relate, as they will no doubt be interesting. Let me first state the position which has been successfully maintained against the police authorities of the city of Denver. It is this: That as the Constitution of the United States grants to every one the right of free speech and peaceable assembly it is a right which does not emanate from the police powers and therefore can not be abridged; that the police have no power to grant to any one the exclusive use of the public thoroughfares. Holding this position we have gone out on the street corners and held our agitation meetings without asking permits from the police board. Religious organizations asked for permits, and when the single-taxers started their open air meetings their chief speaker stated to me personally in the presence of other comrades that he had a permit issued by the police authorities. The police have asked us to get a permit, telling of the great good it would do in the lessening the friction, and so on, but mindful of their "good advice" we continued in the even tenor of our way spreading the doctrine of class-consciousness.

On the night of the arrest of the comrades our meeting was in progress on the corner of 16th and Arapahoe streets, and after Comrade Starkenberg had spoken for about fifteen minutes he introduced Comrade Wm. Fowler, Jr., and after this comrade had been speaking ten minutes so a carriage containing a medicine fakir, an Irish comedian and a black face, drove up and proceeded to hold forth within about twenty-five feet of our stand. With flaring lights and the gaudy costumes of cheese cloth on the Irish comedian, it was not long before a large crowd gathered around the carriage. In a few minutes the comedian began to bawl (he called it singing) but Comrade Fowler's voice being in good condition and his voice reaching over the crowd, he completely disconcerted the bawler and drove him from his position, buff the fakir, who by the way, is a notorious character, being connected with jewelry shops that well deserve the name of "fence," around which congregate the vilest of crooks, this worthy not to be outdone, stepped to the front, and with a diabolical smile and rubbing his hands, he said, "We'll have a little socialism from the carriage," and with this he introduced J. B. Osborne, A. SPEAKER FOR THE LOCAL KANGAROO. While the meeting was in progress a policeman requested Comrade Fowler to move on, which request was utterly ignored. A little while after the patrol drove up and Comrade Fowler was arrested, followed by the arrest of Comrades Mullen, Starkenberg and Mr. Hurwitz in their order, while the fakirs were left unmolested in spite of their disturbing our meeting. During the harangue of the Kangaroo Osborne from the medicine fakir's carriage he let this choice sentence escape him: "The S. L. P. calls everybody a fakir. Why," pointing in the direction of the medicine fakir, "they would even call this man a fakir!" This Osborne knows that we have just as good reason to apply the term fakir to those pretended friends of the working class as we would to an ordinary street fakir. Think of that great crime of calling a fakir a fakir!

Let me say right here that the police authorities are using every means in order to raise funds; and in order to swell their swag they allow all sorts of street fakirs to work their grifts, and the revenues from this source are not to be sneezed at, and there has grown up as the result of these practices a well organized band of crooks who are scattered over the principal corners, and knowing their police protection they have become bold and daring. It was of this select crew who procured the assistance of this Osborne, the Kangaroo speaker. In the court were two members of the counterfeiter's and a couple of freaks who were not tolerated in the ranks of the S. L. P., reinforced by the Irish comedian, who goes under an assumed name, and who in his spare moments (which are many) sings in bawdy houses and dance halls—a typical slum habitue, with all the repulsive features developed in such an environment, and a few other worthless testified against the comrades. But particularly what I wish to note is that the medicine fakir set up a whine about the great amount of money he paid for license and so on. Now when Osborne was on the stand under oath he stated that he did not want to injure the business of the medicine man, and therefore whenever he held a meeting on that corner he held it early, so that when the medicine fakir drove up he would give way, and further that he had agreed to hold meetings only on certain nights and the medicine man held forth on the other nights. The whole tenor of his testimony was of a wheedling, cringing sort about the great expense of the medicine fakir and the desire not to interfere with his meetings. On two different occasions the "Socialist" party with Osborne as the speaker were holding meetings and had collected a group of people when the medicine fakir's outfit would drive up and Osborne would get down from his stand like a good little boy and run away to some other corner and turn the crowd over to the tender mercies of the medicine man. When the members of his organization were asked what kind of a man that is that asks favors of and crawls before such scamps and scoundrels as this organized band of crooks, what answer had they? Why, these go-goos answered that we wanted to interfere with the rights of individuals. Why, I suppose if these brotherly love gentlemen were to follow out their doctrine, they would like to see the doors of the insane asylums and penitentiaries thrown open and the lunatics and criminals set free because the individual rights of these unfortunates are being interfered with.

This Osborne is totally blind, but before he lost his sight he was guilty of faking and now he tries to play upon the sympathy of his audience, and the night of the arrests of the comrades when Osborne finished speaking from the fakir's carriage the fakir made an appeal for a collection for the said Osborne. Only a collection and nothing more.

Comrade Fowler was fined \$5 and costs. The judge admitted that we had a right to the corner for that night, but in spite of this he fined the comrade \$5 because his meeting had been interfered with.

As the counterfeiter's sailing under the name of "Socialist" party have gone in league with the patent medicine fakirs, and these medicine fakirs are selling a preparation known as "Multi-Coca," we have therefore named the local branch of the much named party the "Multi-Coca Socialists." So therefore when the comrades throughout the country read of the "Multi-Coca Socialist" they will understand it to mean the Denver branch of the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic," alias "Public Ownership," alias "Kangaroo," alias "Democratic Social" party, in league with patent medicine fakirs.

Denver, Col., Dec. 12.

THESE.

A Voice from South Dakota.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—The comrades may sometimes wonder why Socialism makes no further progress in South Dakota than it does. Thought is now stagnant here. We are having a great "land boom," and nearly all the old radicals are tired out. Very few of them ever grasped the situation. Probably because: 1.—The greater number of the people are small farmers, with all the apparent interests of small farmers. 2.—We have no large cities, (see census of 1900) and no large factories; consequently, the laboring class has not evolved out of the servile class under the immediate eye of the boss and the owner. Then each one hopes to become a boss himself, and exploit some other workers.

The proletarian movement is understood by none. South Dakota is a new State and has scarcely recovered from the excitement of first settlement and organization, which was a carnival of grab. I have no confidence whatever in the last movement of the "Socialist" Party. It is largely of the West and Middle-West, and, considering its environment cannot be normal. It seems to be led by men who are hopeful, and yet densely ignorant of the practical situation.

As far as I can see here there is no life in the present Socialist sentiment (it is nothing more) of South Dakota. I am a sick man, and cannot hustle any more, but will do all I can.

So, Comrades in the East keep right on the track you have so bravely and truthfully followed. The S. L. P. has thus far traveled the only logical path for the proletariat. This section of Rooseveltdom, really Morgandom, is not yet materially developed—surely not intellectually. We must wait. These people (here) will yet wake up. I know of no better way than the one you have traveled. Never save an arrow to spare a friend—surely not to spare an enemy. I am for the S. L. P. and all it represents.

R. W. GAIN.

Aberdeen, S. D., Dec. 11.

Politics and Economics in London, Ont.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—The municipal elections to be held here in London, Ont., the first week of next year will see a bill to grant fixed assessment to the McClary Manufacturing Company for \$150,000, their capital stock is \$2,500,000. The present council has shouldered the responsibility to the whole electorate. They were afraid the taxpayers would bury it, and the working class not paying the taxes will grant the company the backbone "using cockroach terms" of this city. Smaller concerns with no fixed assessment are squirming, but they don't want to become unpopular by making a kick. The firm itself has an eye to business for it has appointed 25

apostles from their overready slaves to act as deputies, to sap out to their fellow victims the awful conditions that will befall them if the firm moves its plant to Quebec, which they will do if the assessment is not granted.

In 1896, the fall of the then Tory government was predicted, and McClary visited or caused to be visited all those voting cattle whom it was doubtful would vote to sustain it. "It's your bread and butter" was his reminder. "If the Grits get in we will have to shut down." The Tories were defeated and now we find him saying that business is so brisk they can't fill the orders. "Look at our weekly pay roll: \$5,500 for 700 employees." That includes the staff salary and the decoy ducks' drawings. One can imagine the average. The majority have not enough courage left in them after ten hours slavery to study or get out of the darkness, blinded by the "fools dinner pail of hot air and bread and drippings."

Several party members have been let out since the S. L. P. started its propaganda here and the firm has vowed its intentions to wipe out Socialism from its factory. They demoralized the Pure and Simples connected with the Metal Polishers and Buffers, Moulders, and Stone Mounters, but they can't take class-consciousness from the Socialists whom they fire and then trump up charges against for which the opportunity will come to use effectively against them.

London, Ont., Dec. 16.

F. T.

"Union Tactics."

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—The below is a clipping from a local Newark paper:

"PRINTERS AND COMPOSITORS GIVE GENEROUSLY TO HOSPITALS."

"Typographical Union No. 103 decided last night to distribute the 1 per cent. assessment on the wages of the members for the month of November among St. Michael's, St. Barnabas, St. James and the German Hospitals, as a Christmas gift. The amount so subscribed reaches a total of \$250.

"The union was never in a more flourishing condition than it is at present, and the members feel that some of their prosperity should go to help the city's charities."

This is the "union" that has a certain Greeley going around drumming up the buckeye-printing shop owners trying to make these small "producers" join the Union.

For instance, Greeley will approach such an individual and tell him that it is to his (whose?) best interests to join the Union.

"How can a boss be a member of the same union that his employees belong to the Newark 'Evening News' a member of my union? That's all right!"

"But I cannot employ help anyhow. My business will not allow it. Your proposition will only put me to unnecessary expense."

Then Greeley (the shades of Tartarus may now wince!) explains that the "boss" printer may employ a "union" man for one day, get the label, join the Union himself, discharge his union employee the next day, and RETAIN THE LABEL EVER AFTERWARDS!

All at the expense of a few dollars.

Considering the case of Diamond Lott, who hunted all over Greater New York to get passes printed so as to sneak her lover out of the Tombs, finding no printer until she struck Newark, where she struck a certain Down Neck printer, quite a dabbler in Republican politics, by the way, who printed passes for her; same printer later on using the Union Label surreptitiously, is mulcted for \$200 by an Elizabeth Typo Union. Now we find that he has a "union label" and is a union printer. And not one of the printers among the rank and file kicking!

When we consider that the Newark "Evening News" has a direct wire to the New York "Sun," while its own editor is a co-member of Greeley's—why, who is the fool who will not laugh at the insane attempt of the local.

Armory Builders' or "Multi-Coca" party as they are justly called in Denver, to reform the Organized Scabbery behind its back?

S. T. & L. A. to the front!

The organization straight! The label straight! If the organization is crooked, it will remain so, label or no label.

HARRY W. RACHEL.

Newark, N. J., Dec. 19.

Not a "Medium for Religious Controversies."

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—On Sunday, November 10th, the "World" published an article on Socialism by Archbishop Corrigan. The article was an attack on the subject. On Friday, November 22, I sent to the "World" a reply to the article with a request that my reply be published. My reply was not published, and on December 1, I sent to the "World" editor the following:

"To the editor of the 'World,' Dear Sir—On Sunday, November 10, an article appeared in the 'World' entitled 'Socialism' and written by Archbishop Corrigan. The article was written in opposition to Socialism and was, I presume, read by a large number of people. On Friday, November 22, I sent by mail to your office a reply to that article with a request that you would publish such reply in the columns of your paper, as you had published the article itself. Though I have since carefully watched for the publication of my reply in your daily edition (both morning and evening) I find that no edition of the 'World' (to-day's included) contains my reply. I would therefore like to know if the reply will appear in any future edition of your paper, and is so, when? If not, kindly state, why. A reply through the medium of your morning or evening edition will be received with favor by yours respectfully,

"FELIX HUGHES."

In reply to this letter I got a com-

munication dated December 11, which is enclosed:

[Enclosure I.]

The World, Editorial Rooms, Pulitzer Building, Park Row, N. Y., Dec. 11, 1901.

Mr. Felix Hughes, 145 Summit Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., Dear Sir—The 'World' can find no trace of the article which you say was sent to it on November 22. Yours very truly,

THE WORLD.

On December 13 I sent another copy of my reply to the 'World' and next evening, December 14, received another letter:

[Enclosure II.]

The World, Editorial Rooms, Pulitzer Building, Park Row, N. Y., Dec. 14.

Felix Hughes, Esq., Dear Sir—The 'World' does not and cannot make itself a medium for controversies, especially for those having a religious bearing, such as is involved in your MSS as submitted. Very truly,

N. Y. WORLD.

To which I replied as follows:

To the Editor of the 'World'—I received yesterday from your office a communication which runs as follows: "The 'World' does not and cannot make itself a medium for controversies, especially for those having a religious bearing, such as is involved in your manuscript as submitted to us." You say that the 'World' does not and cannot make itself a medium for controversies. If such is the case, the 'World' should not make itself a medium for the circulation of falsehoods written by Archbishop Corrigan or any one else. You complain of my article having a religious bearing. Why did you not object to the religious bearing of Mr. Corrigan's article? As a matter of fact the religious bearing was not the cause of your objection. The real trouble with my article was that it showed too plainly the falsity and absurdity of Archbishop Corrigan's statements. Any one who chooses to attack Socialism may do so through your paper. You only object to those who wish to defend it. You know that Socialism opposes you for defrauding your workers, but you are not honest enough to admit it. In future if you object to making the "World" a medium for controversies don't publish lies. Yours respectfully,

"FELIX HUGHES."

I have had no communication with the "World" office since. As a great many Catholics may have read Dr. Corrigan's article, and as no other reply has yet appeared, I would like the DAILY PEOPLE to grant space to this one, which forms enclosure III.

FELIX HUGHES.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 18.

[Enclosure III.]

Reply to Archbishop Corrigan on "Socialism."

In his article on Socialism published in Sunday's edition of the "World" (November 10th), Archbishop Corrigan gives a quotation from the Pope's Encyclical on Labor. As this document did not deal with articles of faith or morals to be held by the Church, it is open to criticism by its readers, for it must be remembered that "The Pope is infallible only when as Shepherd of the Flock, he defines a doctrine, concerning faith or morals to be held by the whole Church." It may indeed be very justly claimed that the article in question was written, not by the Pope, but only by Ioachim Pecci, writer on Social Economics, and far from being infallible on the subject, the writer was so very fallible that he placed to the discredit of the Socialists the very evils against which the latter have so stubbornly fought. He accused them of attempting to destroy private property. Were the distinguished writer called upon to prove this accusation he would find it hard to do so, as Socialists dislike destruction, having a preference for construction, wherever possible. They hold, it is true, that the means of production and distribution should become the property of the State, and justly so; for such means are the necessities of life, and the man who owns the necessities of life owns his fellow men, who are dependent upon those necessities and can only obtain them at his pleasure. It is hardly necessary to add that the man who is owned must be a slave. Such is the condition of the working-man to-day and how the Socialistic idea would injure him is not easy to comprehend. It will, therefore, be seen that the Socialists do not attempt to destroy private property, but merely wish the State to own all property, the use of which is essential to the interests of the majority of the people.

We are further told by the Encyclical that the Socialists would rob the lawful possessor, bring the State into a sphere that is not its own, and cause complete confusion in the community. Let us consider these charges in detail. The first charge is robbery of the lawful possessor. Who is the lawful possessor? Is he the capitalist who corrupts legislative bodies, steals franchises, fleeces labor, debauches women and bribes officials to permit his violations of law and order, but who considers himself too good to work for his living, preferring to live at the expense of other people's labor, and therefore never producing anything worth possessing or being robbed of? Or, is he the worker, who produces ALL, but is permitted to retain only what is absolutely necessary to sustain life and keep him in proper working order? It is true that the former is the present actual owner, but is he justly so? Is not the man, who takes from his fellow man, that which the latter produces, without giving something equal in return, a thief? And is not the man, who produces wealth by applying labor to nature's gifts, entitled to all of that wealth? If not, why not? If so, which system upholds robbery of the lawful possessor, the Socialistic or the present or capitalistic one?

The second charge is, that Socialism would bring the State into a sphere not its own. Under Socialism the State would own all of the means of production and distribution and operate them in such manner as would best serve the interests of ALL the people of the State. If this is not a proper sphere for the State, why not?

The third charge is, that Socialism would cause complete confusion in the community. This is certainly one of the

weakest arguments ever brought against Socialism. Take, for example, two stores: the one, a small grocery, the other, a large department store. There will be more confusion caused by serving a dozen customers in the former than would arise in attending a hundred in the latter, for the simple reason that the larger sale of business reaps the greater profit and is better able to pay for and procure the order and regularity which are generally successful in abolishing confusion. If this can be done by a private firm, it can surely be done by the State. The Post Office is a fair sample of State management which gives apparent satisfaction to all. And yet the Post Office is not giving as much satisfaction, under a capitalistic government as it could and would under a Socialistic one, as then it would be operated in the interests of the people and not the politicians. Yet with all its disadvantages, it gives more satisfaction now than it would under private ownership.

Thus far we have only dealt with the quotation from the Encyclical on Labor and with which Dr. Corrigan appears to be satisfied. Let us now consider his (Dr. Corrigan's) remarks on the subject. He says: "Taking these words of the Sovereign Pontiff as a guide." The title "Sovereign Pontiff" is understood to apply to the Pope in his official capacity as Head of the Church, in which capacity he is infallible, and his words are beyond all doubt by members of the Catholic Church. In this capacity he can and does speak or write on faith and morals to be held by the Church; but in this position, he cannot and does not speak on the line of political action to be followed by any one, Catholic or otherwise. When he expresses himself on such a matter he does so as a private individual, and as such is quite liable to err. This is clearly defined in the doctrine of infallibility. It is not that doctrine known to Archbishop Corrigan? If it is, he has failed to call attention to it in his remarks; and, as the latter may be read by many Catholics not well acquainted with the doctrine in question, he has deliberately given undue weight to the words of the Pope. In doing so he is dishonest. If the doctrine mentioned is unknown to him he is ignorant of one of the leading doctrines of the church of which he is so high a dignitary, and whose teachings should be especially familiar to him. He could visit one of the many Catholic schools in New York and select a boy nine or ten years of age, who could enlighten him on this doctrine by giving the definition found in an ordinary school catechism. Which is he, dishonest or ignorant? Whichever he may be his words deserve but slight consideration. He speaks of the condition of the workingman, of his right to enjoy life, liberty and happiness, but he does not mention the fact that the present system is gradually decreasing his allowance of the dainties in question. Perhaps he is as ignorant of this fact as he is of the doctrine of infallibility. From whence does he obtain his very incorrect information regarding the condition of the workingman? Does he get it from some of the gentry who draw incomes, through various channels from the law breakers of New York? Or does he get hints on the subject from that clerical mountebank, Dr. Parkhurst, who entertained the members of the Lexow Committee with his exploits as umpire of the leap-frog, played by the prostitutes in the pest houses of New York? One thing is certain, he has been misled. "Who," he asks, "would till the soil or care for the growing crops unless he also firmly expected to reap the harvest?" Let him look for an answer to the farm laborers who work from sunrise till sunset for a mere pittance. Why does he not ask what men would operate the Gould railroads in order to give Miss Anna Gould fifteen million dollars for the purpose of buying a worthless spendthrift, with an equally worthless and unrecognized title, for a husband and also give her an additional sum to pay a high dignitary of the Catholic Church to degrade his office, by performing a marriage ceremony at a strictly forbidden time? What men would do this when their own families had barely enough to procure the necessities of life? If men would produce wealth with hope of only getting a SMALL PORTION of that wealth for themselves, would they not willingly do it with hope of getting ALL that wealth for themselves?

Dr. Corrigan lays great stress on the following passage: "In this city, for instance, if all were Socialists, each of the four million inhabitants, would contribute a four-millionth part to the common fund; and, other things being equal, would be entitled to a four-millionth part of the entire proceeds; certainly not a glittering prize for personal ambition, nor the most tempting inducement in the world." In short the man who contributed one dollar's worth of labor power would receive one dollar's worth of wealth in return, instead of getting a trifle more than 17 cents worth, as at present. Would not that be the full amount justly due him? This might not be a strong inducement to the capitalist, who would then be compelled to work for his own living; but it would satisfy the working man, who would know that ALL of his labor was for HIMSELF, and none of it for the idlers, who spend their own time and other people's money in enjoying themselves, while honest people produce the wealth with which to pay the bills.

The writer states that under Socialism the laborer would hardly have to choose his own employment. Does the laborer choose his own employment at present? Can a ever hope to choose his own employment when every job is eagerly sought after by at least four or five other men? Is he not a slave to the stern necessity which compels him to take that job, if he can, from the grasp of his opponents, and then drives them to wrench it from his grasp at the first opportunity? Must he not then cease to be a slave and become a free man before he can select his own employment? His Grace further says: "Socialism is based essentially on the equality of all mankind." And further, speaking of men, says: "As children of God they are equal." We might also remember that Christ taught men to address the Creator as "Our Father." If God considers all men as His children, and loves them all as such, He must consider all men to be equal. Then, according to His Grace's own statement, God and the Socialists seem to agree, while His

Grace is in opposition to them. Which side is right? It is true that Archbishop Corrigan has had a college education, while God and the Socialists may be somewhat lacking in this respect. Yet God has been so often right in the past that we may feel justified in accepting His decision as final for the present. Dr. Corrigan tells us that our present civilization is Christian. That which is Christian is supposed to be founded on Christ's teaching. Christ said: "Thou shalt not steal." He also said: "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Now, this country is large enough and fertile enough to support its entire population. Yet there are in the United States nearly 5,000,000 unemployed people who are without proper means of support, and are therefore dependent on charity. It seems that these 5,000,000 have been robbed of their share of the wealth. Who are the thieves? They are the Rockefeller's, Goulds, Vanderbilts, Morgans, Carnegies, Whiteyses, Crokers, Platts, etc. Are they punished? No, on the contrary, they are praised for being able to swindle the people, and are regarded as the pillars of society and the churches. There are in this country at least 500,000 prostitutes, the great majority of them being such through inability to get a living by any decent means. There are also in this country over 300,000 imprisoned criminals. In short, the big criminals control this Christian country by violating the laws of Christianity; then amuse themselves by forcing into prison the smaller criminals, many of whom have only tried to get from the big thieves a part of their plunder, and the people pay for the fun to the extent of about \$600,000,000 yearly. This appears to be rather a queer and expensive brand of civilization, whether Christian or otherwise.

Dr. Corrigan again quotes Leo XIII as opposing Socialism with Holy Scripture as authority, but as Holy Scripture is generally accepted as the word of God, who agrees with the Socialists, how can Holy Scriptures oppose them?

In conclusion, the Pope is again quoted as teaching that, under Socialism, the condition of the workers would be impaired, and society condemned to hopeless confusion. The absurdity of these claims has been already shown. In his article, Dr. Corrigan simply makes a number of assertions, which he does not prove to be correct, and, as facts, figures and common sense are the only weapons of any use in the matter he must bring some, if not all of them, to prove, his claims to be correct, or else admit defeat.

FELIX HUGHES.

145 Summit Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

LETTER BOX.

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

A. J. NEW YORK, AND ALL OTHERS WHOM THIS MAY CONCERN.—What strength has the Alliance brought to the Party? Tell us what strength the Party's Taxation has brought to the Party? Tell us what strength the Party's attitude on the Class Struggle has brought to the Party? If you answer these questions we shall be able to understand just what foot you flap on. We shall be able to know whether by "strength" you mean votes or an easy time, or whether by "strength" you understand that soundness of position, which, whatever the intermediary difficulties may be, is alone capable of bringing ultimate victory. Don't be bashful. Your communications will be given the right of way in these columns. Such discussion by both non-Party members and Party members would be the very best sort of convention on the subject. These columns could contain more representatives than any convention hall, and the discussion would be infinitely more satisfactory. Write and similar invitations have been extended before. The invitation is repeated.

S. A. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The cartoons are beautiful and will be published. Send in the other months. They are certainly too good for any publication of the Kangaroo deserters of the Class Struggle.

S. A. NEW ORLEANS, LA.—These people who are all things to all men are about the best sort of a nuisance. Let them pay for nothing fits them exactly. They agree with everything and everything against them. Along with the rest, at pinch, pay for nothing; that is, drop out and let the struggle go on with others than themselves to stand the strain.

J. R. COLUMBUS, O.—Your notice of a public meeting at which Comrade Paul Dinger was to speak could not be used. It did not give the date of the meeting.

T. S. STONINGTON, CONN.—The Business Manager says the money was received.

N. T. WHEELING, W. VA.—The trouble with the persons is that they are talented with religion, not religions.

H. S. A. LINCOLN, NEB.—Do not the works you have consulted point out the general bankruptcy of the times of the Crusades? The real hosts of crusades that infested the highways and woods? Do not those books point out that the joining of the Crusades was the consequence of the cancelling of debts and the getting of jobs? Exercise pressure on the Labor News Company to hasten the publication of the English edition of "The Mysteries of the Peoples." The episodes that coincide with the Crusades are brilliant, and full of meat on that particular point.

T. H. T. CHICAGO, ILL.—No better advice can be given to you than to read Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire." Read it, reread it; read it again; chew and digest it. Then read it over again and again, and branch off into the several historic and other works suggested all alone. Particularly useful for your frame of mind you will find the Third and Fourth Chapters.

L. N. BOSTON, MASS.—"Capacity?" Gompers has "capacity?" Well, considering the mid-eel, it certainly has "capacity," qualities that a full-blooded race horse would be slow to say of a mid-eel (in sight of its dexterity in its own element) that it has "capacities." Keeping in sight the evolutionary species, we would sooner say that the mid-eel has all the "capacities" demanded by its sphere. And so of that bombastic non-sense of Gompers. He has all the "capacities" demanded by the Scab sphere that he has chosen to move in.

O. G. TOLEDO, O.—You do not state facts sufficient to advise you on. The matter depends, first, on the laws of the State you may choose for your residence; secondly, on your purpose in taking the desired step.

H. H. NEW YORK.—The "Sporting Editor" says Jeffreys was 27 years old at the time he fought Fitzsimmons.

L. L. CAMDEN, N. J.—It seems obvious that if a clear, for instance, bears the Alliance label, everyone informed on the lay of the Labor land will see in it a product of workingmen, and a rebellion against the capitalist system, and who work under present conditions just the same as a drafted soldier would work in an army. The label would, accordingly, convey information that the clear and

produced by an organization dominated by the Organized Scabbery as completely as the Gompers-Strasser union is dominated, which sends scabs and deputy-marshals to break the strikes in Tampa and San Francisco. It is produced by unorganized pure and simple. Moreover, such a label would herald about the existence of bona fide Unionism.

F. S. P. NEW YORK.—Fact is that every charge the "Volkszeitung" brought against the Party has been nailed on the heads of "Volkszeitung" men, and that every charge brought against it has stuck fast, from the publishing political advertisements of capitalist politicians, down to forging election returns for the edification of the dumb dupes.

W. G. E. ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Sleeverman is no exception; he is but one of a numerous crew whom a sound party could never attract or keep. It is a crew whose leading character-lineament is fear of the Socialist Labor Party as a power hostile to their ignorance and, of course, fatal to their vanity. It is a crew who have been robbed of their share of the wealth, and labor folk have irretrievably developed into shield-bearers for the capitalist class on the day of the final crisis. It is a well known psychological phenomenon.

W. C. R. NEW YORK.—It is possible that the Alliance writers may succumb to the pressure of combined fakirs and employers to pull out of the Alliance, and it is quite possible that, in that case, a shout of joy will go up. What of it? The shout will be the usual full of holes through which one could see the sentiment: "One more evidence that Socialism is impossible, and we political fakirs are right in seeking to feather our nests with the feathers plucked from the rapid workmen." Now, then, from the ranks of the Alliance, we have into pessimism by any such shouts, or any such occurrences. The alternative is now, as it ever has been, to have the power of the right of the right of the right, and intrepidly pushed, or pessimism and desertion. On which side are you?

"SOCIALISM."

An Address Delivered by the Right Reverend J. Ananias Kraft.

Dear beloved brethren, sisters, and comrades.—The subject upon which I have the pleasure of addressing you this evening is one which all

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Beade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.
—F. J. Darch, Secretary, 119 Dundas street, Market square, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LAB. & NEWS COMPANY.
—2-6 New Beade street. (The Party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can be made in that office on Tuesday, 10 p. m.

General Committee, Section New York, S. L. P.

Regular meeting held Saturday Dec. 14, 1901, 8:30 P. M. in the Daily People Building, 2-6 New Beade street, Manhattan.

Chairman, A. S. Levine; Vice Chairman, E. Hendricks.

Nine new members admitted.

A letter from the S. T. & L. A. asking financial aid for the striking furriers in Lynn, Mass., was received and referred to the Assembly districts.

A communication of the N. E. C. referring to a general vote on the question of Party Fees was received and referred to Assembly districts for amendments, if any, to be reported at the next regular General Committee meeting on Saturday Dec. 28, 1901.

Notification was also received of the resignation of Peter Fleibler and John Kenney from the National Executive Committee and referred to the Assembly districts for nominations.

A letter from the N. E. C. on the "Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung" was received and referred to the City Executive Committee for consideration.

The following members were nominated to fill the three vacancies on the New York State Committee: Emil Miller, J. Broumann, A. Moren, J. Klein, Irving Weisberger and J. Scheurer.

A plan for five regular Sunday lectures and three regular week day lectures by the City Executive Committee was endorsed and the lectures will be held as follows beginning in January 1902:

Sundays, Manhattan: 13 A. D., 26 A. D., 32 and 33 A. D., 34 and 35 A. D., Brooklyn, 10 A. D.

Tuesdays, Manhattan, 14 A. D., Wednesdays 7 and 9 A. D., Fridays, 16 A. D.

Excelsior Literary Society.

It was also decided to issue four leaflets written by Daniel De Leon.

Adjournment followed.

A. C. Kihn, Secretary.

Frank D. Lyon Fund.

84th and 35th A. D., N. Y., collection \$ 1.00

Bethlehem, Pa. 1.00

Peter Damm, N. Y. 1.00

Section Somerville, Mass., T. C. B. 50c. Virginia Baratta 25c.

Harold Hellberg 25c, Andrew Quarnstrom 25c, Theodore Hellberg 25c, A. Johnson 25c, Knut Hellberg 25c.

Section Hartford, Conn., by section 405.

Alois Kumpitach 50c. 8.00

Rosie Carotkin, N. Y. 25c.

Carl Valer, Minneapolis, Minn. 1.00

Section Westchester Co., Branch Portchester, J. Neilson 25c.

Demuth 50c, J. Wolfe 25c, A. Johansen 25c, J. Peterson 50c, J. M. Parker 25c, Anderson 50c, C. Otto Fransecky 55c.

Section Salt Lake City, Utah, James P. Erskine 81, C. L. Anderson 50c.

Section 50c.

Section 1.50

Section 1.00

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Section 1.00

M. Regina Roth 10

Annie Wolf 15

Sarah Helmer 15

Susie Edelman 10

Section Schenectady—

N. Y. and S. T. & L. A. 5.00

Louis Green 1.00

David Rafael 1.00

Hurwitz 1.00

Section Milford, Conn.—

List No. 390 2.00

Joseph Gold 1.00

Meyer Solomon 5.00

S. Richmond 25

Collected by Rabinowitz, list No. 500—

Mean Tailor 10

M. Atkins 10

Ben Newman 25

J. Rosenblatt 25

J. 15

H. Oremland 10

O. Lantz 25

M. Goldman 1.00

M. Moed 50

S. Moed 50

Edelman 50

L. Kupfer 1.00

M. Kupfer 50

M. Roth 50

Harry Grossman 2.00

Nathan Gilman 50

Oscar Chapman 50

Collected at Breyer Barber shop, 79 Willet street on list 471-472—

H. L. Berger 50

H. Schander 25

M. Breyer 1.00

Althoff 25

H. Schabel 25

Slifus 50

Charles Kirschbaum 50

M. D. Schwartz 25

R. Pittenbaum 25

S. Wolach 25

S. Randel 50

J. Seisler 25

J. Korn 25

L. Katz 25

M. Hiller 50

H. Ochen 1.00

F. Seiden 50

L. Jacobs 50

S. Hurwitz 50

B. Leiden 35

Samuel Bilver 25

H. Zimmerman 25

Charles Nadel 25

S. Fortnaag 25

M. Leper 25

M. Katz 25

J. Fehrer 25

H. Bian 25

I. Katz 50

H. Skendel 50

S. Mitchell 50

Section Hartford, S. L. P. on list 378—

Section 5.00

J. Brenner 25

J. Reznais 50

A. Girginsky 25

Collected by Winger on list 405—

Samuel Miller 50

Louis Reigin 50

J. Becker 50

W. Solikovich 1.50

Total \$257.05

Campaign Fund, Section New York, Socialist Labor Party.

Previously acknowledged \$396.35

10th A. D., Brooklyn, list No. 131 1.00

15th A. D., Brooklyn, list No. 143 50

6th and 10th A. D., New York, list No. 8 50

6th and 10th A. D., New York, list No. 253 25

7th and 9th A. D., New York, balance on list No. 22 3.50

23rd A. D., New York, list No. 68 50

30th A. D., New York, list No. 81 70

32nd and 33rd A. D., New York, list No. 254 1.50

32nd and 33rd A. D., New York, list No. 255 1.00

11th and 13th A. D., New York, list No. 25 1.00

21st A. D., Borough of Brooklyn, list No. 101 70

Total \$407.10

L. Abelson, Organizer, 2-6 New Beade street, New York.

SPECIAL FUND.

(As per circular letter, Sept. 3, 1901.)

Previously acknowledged \$4,245.37

Section New Haven, Conn. 1.25

Section New Haven, Conn. 2.50

Section Fall River, Mass. 3.70

Wm. L. Brower, N. Y. City 1.00

Section Adams, Mass.—

G. Voigt 75

Aug. Schmidt 1.00

Henry Schmidt 1.00

Henry Bleil 1.00

Chas. Stoebor 1.00

Otto Enckser, Third A. D., N. Y. City 50

Tenth A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. 4.00

K. C. 3th and 35th A. D., N. Y. City 1.00

Section Bridgeport, Conn. 1.75

Section Rockville, Conn. 15.00

Section San Jose, Cal.—

Jacob Zimmer 5.00

Louis H. Zimmer 2.00

Peter Zimmer 1.00

John Raymond, Snoqualmie, Wash. 1.00

G. H. Powell, Rankin, Pa. 1.00

Lars Johnson, Eureka, Cal. 2.00

B. Pollet, Washington, D. C. 2.00

Cigan, N. Y. City 75

A. Union Carpenter 2.00

Daniel De Leon, 25th A. D., N. Y. City 15.00

21st A. D., Branch 1, Brooklyn 2.25

Section St. Paul, Minn.—

Geo. F. Spettel 5.00

Henry Carling 50

Section Newburg, N. Y.—

Edward Gidley 1.00

John Royl 1.00

Adolph Mordell 1.00

A. Wynert 1.00

James McGarvey 1.00

Total \$4,324.02

EDWARD D. TRICH.

Cashier.

Connecticut State Committee.

Regular meeting December 8th, 1901.

Meeting called to order by James Manee—Secretary.

Chairman Fred Fellerman.

Roll-call—Present: Beller, Manee.

Thompson, Fellerman, Harrison, Fan-
tous, Brewer.

Minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

Correspondence:

From Bridgeport, relative to Derby Election—Action of Secretary in regard to same approved.

From Section Bridgeport, enclosing \$6.00 for 50 due stamps.

From Section New Haven, enclosing \$2.40 for 20 due stamps.

From A. Lafriere, Moosup Conn., enclosing 20 cents with application for membership at large—Action: Accepted as a member at large.

From Section Rockville, enclosing \$6.00 for 50 due stamps.

From Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, enclosing two hundred due stamps—Secretary reported having sent Kuhn \$14.00 payment and received receipt for same.

Bills for expressage on tickets, total \$1.50—Action: Ordered paid.

Bill of Lawyer Gaffney for services in the Bristol case, \$25.00—Action: Ordered paid.

Bills of 40 cents postage and 50 cents for railroad fare to J. Meno—Action: Ordered paid.

Secretary was instructed to write and have published in our official organ how the Bristol case transpired.

Letter of Secretary to Comrade Warner of Section New Britain, relative to Job Printing. Approved.

Reports of Committees.

Report of Auditing Committee on books of Section Moosup, disbanded, accepted as final.

Report of Committee on Drawing, accepted as one of progress.

Report of Officers for Month of November.

Income. 19.15

Grand Total \$59.89

Disbursements 9.00

Balance on hand December 1. . \$40.00

Leonard Thompson, Rec. Sec.

The Lynn Strike.

The strike of the Morocco Workers of Lynn, Mass., who are affiliated with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, still continues. For seven weeks this struggle has been going on, and in the Thos. A. Kelley & Co. factory, whose employees are all Alliance men, and where this trouble started it has not yet been settled.

Kelley has succeeded in getting scabs to run his beam house and staking room, but he has failed to get one of the Glazing department.

The firm has offered the Glazers all kinds of inducements to return to work, but the Glazers have refused these tempting offers and say that before they will desert their comrades in this fight they will leave the city and seek employment elsewhere.

The solidarity shown by our comrades in this fight is certainly commendable, and we hope they will realize the necessity of carrying this fight against their oppressors to the ballot box on Election day, by voting the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

In the three factories that have resumed work (where there are only a few Alliance men employed) the employees have not gained any material advance. At Weber & Co.'s and Hoffman & Co.'s the employees received an advance of one dollar more per week, but their task was increased. At Peavear & Co.'s factory the employees returned to work on the same terms against which they struck.

Our comrades who are fighting Kelley & Co. are in need of financial assistance and it is to be hoped that all comrades of the Alliance and the Party who can assist them, will do so at once.

Send all money to Thomas Birtwell, No. 29 South Side Avenue, Lynn, Mass.

Following is a list of money received up to Thursday, December 19, 1901.

L. A. 267, Lynn, Mass. 25.81

L. A. 368, Plymouth, Mass. 10.00

L. A. 185, Boston, Mass. 10.00

L. A. 262, Fall River, Mass. 10.00

L. A. 348, Euton, N. Y. 10.00

O. Hughes, Lynn, Mass. 1.00

Louis Cordes, Lynn, Mass. 1.50

A. B. Herschmann, Hoboken, N. J. 1.00

Gus. Langner, Milford, Conn. 2.00

Total \$74.31

Woburn, Mass., Vote.

John F. Bradley, Mayor 67

John W. Kogan, Board of Public Works 50

Alderman at Large.

John O'Donnell 211</